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A HISTORY OF PAINTING IN ITALY
BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE

VOL. IV
FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY



Photo. Tuckey.

Fig. 100.

St. Lawrence giving alms

By Don. Angelini.

From a scene in the Century of Nicholas at the Vatican

A HISTORY OF
PAINTING IN ITALY
UMBRIA FLORENCE AND SIENA
FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIX-
TEENTH CENTURY BY J. A. CROWE
& G. B. CAVALCASELLE
EDITED BY LANGTON DOUGLAS
ASSISTED BY G. DE NICOLA

IN SIX VOLUMES ILLUSTRATED

VOL. IV
FLORENTINE MASTERS OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THE delay in the appearance of this volume calls for a few words of explanation.

It has been due to circumstances over which I have had no control, and which I greatly regret. In January, 1903, I was assured that this volume (IV) would be ready for publication in March, 1904; but owing to various causes the Editor has been unable to complete the preparation till the present time.

Arrangements have now been made for expediting the revision and editing of the remaining portion of the work, and I have every reason to hope that it may be published during the next twelve months.

JOHN MURRAY

March, 1911

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NOTE.

The Editor's notes are marked with an asterisk.

THE FLORENTINE SCHOOL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

BRUNELLESCHI. Ghiberti. DONATELLO

THE close of the fourteenth century is marked, in the policy and literature of Italy, by a decline of general culture. The genius of the Italian tongue, brilliantly represented by Petrarch and Boccaccio, disappeared in the cloud of soulless writers who present to us less the spirit than the husk or shell of the past. The fifteenth century, however, witnessed the restoration of learning and the rekindling of a sacred fire, whose flame has never since been suffered to expire. Art partook of the same changes, and became tinged, in the fifteenth century, by the partiality evinced for ancient Greece and Rome. Brunelleschi¹ restored to architecture, at least, the measures and proportions of the antique, and reinstated their rules and order. He incidentally studied and gave an impulse to sculpture. Ghiberti, too, devoted time and thought to the analysis of the models of the classic time;² but the man on whom those models were most indelibly impressed was Donatello.

*¹ C. V. FABRICZY, *Filippo Brunelleschi*, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 9-27; A. CHIAPPELLI, *Filippo Brunelleschi, scultore*, in *Pagine d' antica arte fiorentina*, Florence, 1905, pp. 147-76.

² He describes, in his Commentary, many then recent discoveries of antiques. ALBERTINI (*Memoriale*, u.s., p. 12) also mentions several as existing in the Casa Ghiberti; and one especially, a marble vase, which Ghiberti had caused to be brought from Greece. Vasari too mentions certain torsos and *anticaglie*, as he calls them, of bronze and marble. VASARI, ii., p. 245.

* Among the numerous and important recent studies of Ghiberti, such as those of Bode, Brockhaus, and Schlosser, which have dealt with Ghiberti's relations with ancient art, special mention may be made of A. GRÜNWARDL's *Über die Schicksale des Ilioneus*, in the *Jahrbuch d. Kunst-Samml. des Allerh. Kaiserh.*, 1908, Heft 4, p. 155 *et seq.* The author shows that the so-called Ilioneus of the Munich Glyptothek was once in Ghiberti's collection of antiques, and influenced the master when he modelled the Isaac for the competition for the Baptistery doors.

It is foreign to the aim and purpose of these pages to tell the story of the lives of these great and interesting men. Yet their influence upon their contemporaries and successors was so great and so important that we are justified in glancing at the principal works which they left behind them, and in explaining the tendencies and peculiarities which they reveal. Brunelleschi appears to us, even at this distance of time, as an extraordinarily gifted man. Born in the fourteenth century,¹ his father would have had him bred to the law or to medicine. But his genius lay in a different direction, and he entered the atelier of a goldsmith, where he studied all the branches of the arts and sciences usually taught there. Through the same course which brought Verrocchio and Leonardo to fame as painters, sculptors, and engineers, Brunelleschi became the greatest engineering architect of his time; and, circumstances leading him to a special pursuit of one branch amongst the many which he had mastered, he gradually abandoned design and sculpture, the study of perspective and statuary, for the more lucrative one in which he distanced his numerous competitors. No reader of Vasari's delightful biographies will have forgotten Brunelleschi's candid remark upon a Christ crucified which Donatello showed him. "You have crucified a rustic," he cried;² and to prove more fully what those words were intended to convey, Brunelleschi proceeded to carve in wood a similar figure which extorted from Donatello the admission that he was beaten at his own weapons. This work is still in S. Maria Novella at Florence. It shows us that, though Brunelleschi was not imbued with the Christian ideal of type, though he failed in selection, which was the quality of Giotto and Angelico, he was still fully alive to the necessity of ennobling the features and form of the Saviour, and possessed a fibre of gentleness which might be sought in vain in Donatello. At the same time, he displayed a natural progress in rendering the play of flesh and muscles. His was clearly a higher nature than that of his friend, one not as yet redolent of the materialistic spirit in which the new century opened, one still enjoying a tinge of that religious feeling which lingered yet awhile in the breasts of some choice artists. Before finally dropping the sculptor's tools, he

¹ Born 1377. Died April 15th, 1446.

² VASARI, ii., pp. 338 and 398.

was one of those who competed for the gates of S. Giovanni; and no competent judge, who compares the bronze relief assigned to him at the Uffizi¹ with that attributed to Ghiberti, will fail to conclude that it was hard to decide which of the two possessed most talent. It must be candidly confessed, indeed, that, after carefully examining both works, the critic may be convinced that the relief of Brunelleschi is conceived and executed more in accordance with the true maxims of art, whilst that of Ghiberti is more calculated to please.²

Ghiberti, who enthusiastically urges the claim of the Tuscan school of painting to the perfection of the Greeks,³ but who need not be taken as literally meaning all that he says in this respect, had clearly intended, at the outset of his career, to become a painter. Unwilling, perhaps, to compete with his father, who was a sculptor, he chose to forget the rules of plastic art. The competition for the gates of S. Giovanni altered his resolve; and he went in for the prize with others, amongst whom was not Donatello, as we are now aware.⁴ The manner in which he carried out the work of the first gate, in company with Bartoluccio, his father, illustrates a remarkable tendency in the age, the introduction of a style exclusively pictorial in the execution of bas-relief, a new feature that was soon to find its concomitant in painting.⁵ The prototype of Ghiberti in his first great enterprise is Giovanni Pisano, the general aspect of whose work, its unity, distribution, action, and festooned drapery, were obviously in the later artist's mind. Giovanni had already introduced into his sculpture a pictorial element unknown to Nicola.⁶ This

*¹ This relief, as well as that of Ghiberti, is now in the Museo Nazionale at the Bargello.

² Brunelleschi's relief, like that of Ghiberti, represents Abraham's sacrifice. ALBERTINI, in *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 11, notes Brunelleschi's relief as being the ornament of a marble altar in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

³ GHIBERTI, ed. Frey, in *Sammlung der Biographien Vasari's*, Berlin, 1886, iii., pp. 34-8.

⁴ VASARI (ii., p. 225) notes the presence of Donatello amongst the competitors, and (p. 226) even describes the model which he submitted. No record justifies this statement, and we know that in 1401, the competing year, Donatello was but seventeen years old. See Donatello's income-tax papers in GAYE, i., pp. 120-3.

⁵ This phase of art in Ghiberti is ably developed in RUMOUR, *Forschungen*, ii., pp. 230 and following.

⁶ See the dismembered pulpit of Pisa, of 1302, *antea*, p. 147.

element was extended by Ghiberti in his first gate, whilst, in accordance with the great Giottesque maxims he still made every part fairly if not completely subordinate to one great and severe law. Ghiberti thus showed to advantage, even when compared with Andrea; though trusting principally, as Giovanni Pisano had done, to action for effect.¹ The Evangelists and doctors of the church, on the lower courses, display indeed an energy of movement which proves that action was really superseding the gravity of statuary in general; and this feature in the art of Ghiberti was that which his assistant Donatello exaggerated in the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence.² How the Florentines followed up this path till Michael Angelo produced the triumph of physical force over the ideal of form, in the Jeremiah of the Sistine chapel, is clear to every observer. It is to be noted, in the meanwhile, that the art which thus linked itself anew to the tradition of Giovanni Pisano had already swept aside much of the influence of Giotto. Indeed, what these bronzes of Ghiberti wanted was the great law of balance in distribution; and they illustrate the use of indirect means for affecting the spectator in the absence of the perfection resulting from the full application of essential maxims. Ghiberti, in fact, repeated, in his branch, the fault of Masaccio in painting; and a genius like that of Uccello, of Mantegna, or Piero della Francesca in the sister art, would have been required to keep sculpture within the due bounds of positive scientific principles.³ If we examine the numerous statues which Ghiberti executed before the completion of his first gate, we may note in the bronze figure of St. John Evangelist⁴ of Orsanmichele, rigidity and hardness allied to progress in the

¹ This is apparent in the Birth of the Virgin, and in the Annunciation of the first gate, in both of which reliefs Ghiberti's style recalls that of Giovanni Pisano.

² As, for instance, in the St. John Evangelist, in thought, with his chin in the hollow of his hand.

³ The Crucifixion and the Transfiguration may be considered as best sustaining the principles of bas-relief and the maxims of composition perfected by Giotto. In the Annunciation there is more action and less balance, and the same remarks may apply to the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi.

* ⁴ Not St. John Evangelist, but St. John Baptist.

mode of rendering form;¹ in that of St. Stephen,² the same peculiarities with a nobler mien, yet with an undue sacrifice of the figure to copious festooned drapery; in that of St. Matthew, which Ghiberti claims to have produced, but for which Michelozzo, his assistant, received part payment, greater freedom of motion, better draperies, and a more modern manner.³

In 1424, the first gate of S. Giovanni was completed; and Ghiberti received the commission of the second, which remained in hand till 1452.⁴ Its peculiar beauties and defects have been explained and commented by many, with indulgent favour by Rumohr,⁵ with smaller approval by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is not doubtful that the faults which characterised the first were repeated with interest in the second, and that Ghiberti finally substituted to the real laws of bas-relief a pictorial style which sought to increase the illusion of the spectator by the introduction of linear perspective.⁶ We may admit the art with which the sculptor varied the planes on which his figures were placed; we may be charmed by the beauty of isolated parts or episodes; but the critical eye vainly seeks one picture in which the simple qualities required by the gravity of sculpture are fully maintained. The general features of this great work are crowding of figures, and their undue subordination to the distances and accessories, a reversal of the Giottesque principle which makes

¹ This figure was executed in 1414. [* See GHIBERTI'S *Comm.*, in FREY, *op. cit.*, p. 49.]

² VASARI, ii., p. 238.

³ GHIBERTI, *Comm.* [* See FREY, *op. cit.*, p. 49.] See for the payments due to Michelozzi, his tax paper; GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 117. [* See also A. DOREN, *Das Aktenbuch für Ghiberti's Matthäusstatue in Orsanmichele, in Italien. Forschungen*, Berlin, 1904, part i.] He describes himself as Ghiberti's assistant; and the statue was commissioned of Ghiberti. See the record of August 26th, 1419, in BALDINUCCI, *u.s.*, v., p. 44. In 1421 Ghiberti announces that the figure has failed in the casting, and consents to recast it at his own expense; — record. *Ibid.*, v., p. 51. In 1422, he finally received 650 gold flor. for the work. *Ibid.*, v., p. 52.

⁴ It was finished in 1447, but only gilt in 1452.

⁵ *Forschungen*, ii., pp. 230 and following. [* See H. BROCKHAUS, *Forschungen über Florentiner Kunstwerke*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 1 *et seq.*]

⁶ The same system was pursued in the reliefs of the sarcophagus of S. Zanobi at S. Maria del Fiore commissioned in 1439. (See GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 543.) [* The reliefs were finished in 1446.]

distances of minor importance; an application of linear perspective to plastic art, unusual, and perhaps to be entirely condemned, but at the same time, great progress over past efforts in the definition of form and a perfection in the use and production of ornaments of fruit, garlands, and birds in their natural shape, inimitable and unsurpassed to this day. How far the latter quality may be detrimental by casting the figure subjects into the shade may be left to the individual judgment of the observer. Vasari, who always preferred modern to older art, naturally placed the second before the first of Ghiberti's gates. In this he has been followed by Rumohr. The true maxims of art were, however, best preserved in the first, least in the second.¹

The same age which welcomed the gentle talent of Angelico, the manly genius of Masaccio, the polished art of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, gave expansion to Donatello's rugged style.² A daring energy, a fiery temper, and a frank demeanour, united to an open disdain of the finesses of culture, were remarkable in him; and his life and works, if studied apart by a philosopher and a critic, would yield the same conclusions to both. His character and style are alike illustrated in that encounter with Brunelleschi, which ended in the triumph of the latter. "To you the power of delineating the Saviour, to me that of representing rustics," such was his final remark to his friendly rival.³ But Donatello was by no means an ordinary man. The strong pulsation of his blood, the febrile activity of his hand might disable him from reflecting on the creation of ideal gentleness of type or selection of form. They could not but impart to everything he undertook a masculine energy equally original in stamp and powerful in its impression on the beholder. Donatello, indeed, was a man whose influence on contemporary art was beyond measure great,⁴ whose fame extended far outside the bounds

*¹ For Ghiberti's smaller works in bronze see BODE, *The Italian Sculptures of the Renaissance*, London, H. Grevel, 1907, part i., pp. 7, 8.

² Born 1386. Died 1408. [* The date of his birth is uncertain. According to some documents it was 1386, according to others 1382, 1387, or 1390. He died December 13th, 1466.]

³ VASARI, ii, p. 399.

*⁴ On Donatello's influence on Florentine art see BODE, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, London, 1907, pp. 46-50.

of Italy, and who stands forth in history as the archetype, on which Michael Angelo was modelled. Michael Angelo might truly admire the polish of Ghiberti, and declare that the gates of S. Giovanni were worthy of guarding the entrance to Paradise; but his own style was faithfully moulded on that of Donatello; and we recognise in two great Florentines of different ages the same characteristic features.¹

The complex of Donatello's numerous works reveals the extraordinary powers of one whose spirit and fire carried him beyond the limits of sober and select thought. He worked and created with a vehemence properly called *furia*, by the Italians, and suggesting comparison with the fiery war steed, who, with swollen nostrils, strains at the curb and disdains the bit. His works are the true reflex of his nature. Yet his command of means was in no wise common; and it is to him more than to Ghiberti that we owe the style which Vasari usually calls *modern*.² The study of the models of antiquity was more marked in its influence on his productions than upon those of Ghiberti. One may still contemplate with surprise the classic style preserved in works embodying the subjects, and imitating the manner, of the Greek time;³ one admires the more distant but not less certain trace of that influence in works illustrative of Bible history. If, among the many statues of David which Donatello produced, we choose one which now adorns the collection of the Uffizi, we shall agree with Vasari⁴ that the life and fleshiness in it are admirable and the more praiseworthy if the difficulties of bronze be considered. We shall contemplate with pleasure elastic motion rivalling that of a living man; and we shall be justified in adding, that no creation of the revival, from the fourteenth

* ¹ This is only true in a very modified sense.

² No doubt Ghiberti and Brunelleschi had their fair share in the creation of the modern style; for one man cannot alone produce so great a change. But Donatello was the chief instrument in it.

³ See the bronze patera in Casa Martelli at Florence. [* Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.]

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 406. The statue is now in the Sala di Donatello in the Museo Nazionale at the Bargello. It had belonged to Cosimo de' Medici, and was sold by his sons Lorenzo and Giuliano for 150 flor. in 1476. GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 572. See BODE, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, London, 1907, p. 24.

century to the time of Michael Angelo, is more entitled to claim respect and admiration, because of the true development of the maxims and laws which are combined alike in it and in the Greek models. The youthful champion, trampling with his right foot on the helmeted head of Goliath, his right hand grasping a long straight sword, the left holding a stone and resting on the hip, stands, life-size, and all but naked before the spectator. On the head, whose profile is of classic line, is an ancient helm, which casts a broad shadow on the youthful forehead; and copious locks luxuriate about the neck. An admirable unity marks the contours of the form, whose select parts reveal a true feeling for the beauties of Greek statuary. Donatello, in fact, displays the results of a deep study of the antique, combining in a single work the truth of nature with nobleness of shape and of mien, chasteness of form with breadth and ease of modelling. More happy in his mood than at other periods of his career, he seems to have curbed the natural impetuosity of his temper and to have allowed a cooler judgment to restrain the natural fire that burned within him. We may regret that he should not have constantly obeyed this restraint, and that he should have fallen so frequently into a less noble realism; but it is due to him to greet with a just applause those works in which he gave proofs that he possessed the highest gifts that can grace a sculptor. His David has a perfect harmony of power, of character, and of parts, and had posterity been deprived of all his works except that, he would, on the strength of it, be called the best sculptor of his country. Amongst the figures which have been usually taken as a test of Donatello's power, the best known is perhaps the St. George of Orsanmichele.¹ Firmly poised on his two legs and resting his hands on the shield that guards him, he suggests to the spectator a feeling of conscious firmness and security. A relief of St. George encountering the Prince of Darkness adorns the pedestal of the niche originally occupied by the statue; and affords a perfect example of the modern art to which Vasari alludes. So vigorous is the action, so fleshy are the forms that they recall to mind the pencil studies of Leonardo da Vinci,

* ¹ Now in the Bargello. A copy is now in the niche at Orsanmichele where the original stood so long.

whilst the polish of the marble and the gentleness of the kneeling female illustrate anew the sculptor's capacity when he controlled his habitual exuberance of spirit. Michael Angelo could not have treated more perfectly than Donatello has done the large planes of drapery which cover part of the armour of the statue. In this particular, indeed, we may recognise another favourable feature in a style sufficiently remarkable already. Providence has seldom gifted one mortal with a combination of qualities which may be found isolated in many; and Donatello was not one of the most favoured in this respect. But whilst his manner reveals much that deserves moderate applause, it has clearly many qualities of value. He frequently sacrificed the perfection of the whole for the elaboration of parts; but some of these parts were not unfrequently marked with the stamp of undoubted progress. His draperies are an evident proof that he possessed an innovating spirit. Whilst Ghiberti did nothing more than continue the abuse of superfluous festooned garments, and often made a figure but a peg on which to hang a tunic; whilst, in this, the great author of the gates of St. Giovanni failed to maintain the simple maxims of Giotto and Orcagna, Donatello, mindful of the laws of sculpture, sought ever to remind the spectator that, beneath the cloth, there moved and breathed a human body; and he carried out this necessary law of statuary by defining the under forms and by a judicious use of girdles or belts, a method in which he was faithfully followed by Mantegna and Michael Angelo. He took into due account the action of the joints on the surface of the flesh, and introduced the necessary folds on the skin of the inner bends, whilst he rendered the tension of the other parts or their repose by large and massive planes, according to the rules which Leonardo da Vinci afterwards laid down in one of his treatises. Yet even these qualities in him were not unalloyed, and the critic is forced to admit that he fell into occasional conventionalism, lost sight of the necessary simplicity, and overcharged his draperies with useless detail. The greater genius of Michael Angelo was not indeed free from this reproach; but if conventional, and unselect, he avoided the too frequent error of his predecessor.

The powerful and stern figures of SS. Peter and Mark at Orsanmichele, of the Zuccone or Baldpate and other Evangelists on the west side of the Campanile of S. M. del Fiore at Florence, are all examples of the qualities that were combined in Donatello. It is true that the statues of the Campanile are not so cleverly adapted as they might be to the spaces which they were intended to fill. But the master was not often at fault in this respect; and Vasari gives a telling account of the manner in which, being entrusted with the execution of the St. Mark of Orsanmichele, and having finished it according to his judgment in the form best suited to the position it was to occupy, he discontented the syndics of the Linaiuoli by showing them the statue on the ground, and, a few days after, roused their admiration to the highest pitch, by discovering it unaltered in its niche.¹ Whether Donatello owed this scientific application of the law of optics to statuary to Brunelleschi, or to his own study of the antique, it was an eminent quality in him, and the art of creating form so as to appear natural when seen at certain distances and heights has seldom been better applied than it is in the St. Mark of Orsanmichele.

These were not the sole difficulties of his practice which Donatello encountered and overcame. In the faces of the pulpit of Prato, on the round surface of which gay infants dance, he shows his mastery in the lowest relief; and thus appears to be, of all Italian artists, the ablest in this most difficult branch. It may be admitted that he went to the extreme of flatness; still, he is all but unique in the effort, and in the success which attends it. Were it worth while to add this example to foregoing ones, the student would only be strengthened in the conviction that Greek models yielded inexhaustible fruits to the genius and energy of Donatello. If we contemplate other works, we shall see that he derived advantage equally great from the study of animal nature. The statue of Gattamelata at Padua not merely displays the master's power in limning the human form, but reveals his ability in rendering that of the horse. Donatello, in fact, shares with Verrocchio the honour of having, in equestrian statues, made a nearer approach to the antique than any Italian

sculptor of subsequent or previous times. We have thus illustrated by a few remarkable examples the qualities of a great sculptor. Some of his defects have been incidentally touched upon. We must complete the impartial enumeration of others. Donatello was seldom select; and he frequently indulged in the slovenly fault of reproducing square and vulgar forms, in which the excess of life in the action of muscles or limbs was insufficient to make the spectator forget the un noble nature of the being represented. Too frequently form, rustic in mould and in strength, revealed a sacrifice of idealism to details. A grand feature in the art revived by Giotto was its intense gravity of religious feeling. We have noted the gradual disappearance of that feature in the lapse of years, as the revival of letters introduced the study of extinct languages and of pagan philosophy. Many artists, however, continued to treat exclusively religious subjects; and of these Ghiberti was one. Donatello, on the contrary, reproduced actual imitations of the deities and emblems of antiquity; and he was so little imbued with the idea of the divinity of the Saviour that he naturally failed when he took in hand such a subject as the Crucifixion. Brunelleschi justly reproached him when he declared that his Christ was a rustic. The figure exists to this day in S. Croce of Florence,¹ and is not only a realistic imitation of a low nature, but a reproduction of an imperfect form, of a bony and muscular nude with a large head and weak chest. But Donatello was not merely at fault when called upon, as on this occasion, to display perfect ideal of form and religious feeling. He was equally unsuccessful whenever he had to reproduce any one of the less fine or placid moods into which the human frame may be thrown. His Magdalen in the Baptistery of Florence is but a suffering and emaciated shell, unfeminine in every sense, and with hardly a trace of such original beauty as might be supposed to linger in a frame borne down by long anguish and penance. The extent to which Donatello could allow his cooler experience to desert him is shown in the exaggerated and grotesque groups forming the reliefs of the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence. Yet in the midst of this exaggeration one marks originality, fancy, and a vehemence of passion which

¹ In the Cappella Bardi.

seem to foreshadow the efforts of Michael Angelo in his decline.

In the handling of bronze, Donatello has been described as careless or inexperienced; yet Vasari's praise¹ of the casting and chiselling in the Judith and Holophernes of the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence is undeniably correct and just.²

*¹ VASARI, ii., pp. 405-6.

*² The best account of Donatello is, of course, to be found in BONE, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, Methuen, 1908, pp. 12-44. Lord Balcarras' scholarly monograph ought also to be consulted (*Donatello*, Duckworth, 1903; as well as A. G. MEYER's *Donatello*, Grevel and Co., 1904). On Donatello's bronzes see BONE's monumental work, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, London, 1907, part ii., pp. 9, 10.

CHAPTER II

MASOLINO

IT would seem to us highly improbable that any competent judge could, in Vasari's time, have failed to distinguish the works of Masaccio from those of Masolino, even though it should be urged that a certain similarity must necessarily have existed between two men who stood in the relation of master and disciple to each other.¹ Yet Vasari committed this mistake, probably because the share of each painter in the wall pictures of the Carmine had not been accurately made known to him, and he had not had the good fortune to examine the frescoes of the collegiate church of Castiglione d'Olona, upon which Masolino spent some years of his life.

We, unhappily, have not all the materials at our disposal which were accessible in Vasari's time, since more than half the Brancacci frescoes perished in the seventeenth century; but enough remains to prove that there were characteristic varieties by which the style of Masaccio might be distinguished from that of Masolino, although in some respects there were certain points or features common to both. If it should be hopeless to expect that this opinion will now meet with unanimous acceptance, it may still be set forth with some expectation of approval.

According to Vasari, Masolino of Panicale in Val d'Elsa began life as an assistant to Ghiberti, by whom he was employed to chase the bronze gates of the Baptistery of Florence. But at the age of nineteen he abandoned sculpture for painting, and took lessons from Gherardo Starnina. Visiting Rome for the prosecution of

¹ VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii, p. 295.

his studies, he decorated with pictures the hall of the Orsini palace on Monte Giordano. But Roman air disagreed with him, and he returned to Florence, where he painted a St. Peter near the chapel of St. Christopher in the convent of the Carmine. His execution of this work was so good as to warrant his employment in the Brancacci chapel, where he finished, in the ceiling, the four Evangelists, and on the walls, the Call of Peter and Andrew to the Apostleship, Peter denying Christ, the Apostles in a Storm, the Sermon of St. Peter, his Cure of Tabitha, and the Healing of the Cripple at the Temple Gate. The care which Masolino gave to these labours caused his health to decline, and he died at the age of thirty-seven, about the year 1440.¹

There is no doubt that the frescoes of Masolino at the Carmine were as celebrated in the sixteenth century as those of Masaccio and Filippino, and of this there is some evidence in Vasari's lives.

Pierino del Vaga, leaving Rome, where a plague had broken out, in 1523, came to Florence, where he was received by a host of old friends who took him to look at the Brancacci chapel. The company were unanimous in admiring the judgment of Masaccio, who never, it was said, had seen anything but the works of Giotto, and yet acquired a style so modern in design, as well as in imitation of nature and colour, that he was able to overcome the difficulties of art, and surpass all his precursors and contemporaries in resolution, practice, and quality of relief. Pierino, without denying the justice of these remarks, appears to have been nettled by them, and one of the best artists at that time in Florence had the curiosity to propose to him to rival his precursor by painting an apostle in one of the vacant spaces near the St. Peter of Masolino or the St. Paul of Masaccio, the former being in the better place and in the brighter light, but not less beautiful than the St. Paul. Pierino accepted the offer, composed a cartoon of St. Andrew, for which he obtained a space at the Carmine from the prior of the convent, and would have carried out his purpose but that he got a more important commission elsewhere.

We are not told when Masolino and Masaccio painted the two

¹ VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., pp. 263-7.

figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, nor do we know whether these figures were executed in competition; but we are well assured that both masters were employed in the Brancacci chapel, that the Evangelists in the ceilings, the Call of Andrew and Peter, Peter denying Christ, the Apostles in a Storm, were once a part of the decoration of the chapel, and perished with the St. Peter and St. Paul in the interior of the convent. The only point suggesting doubt is whether Masolino was or was not the author of the Sermon of Peter, the Healing of Tabitha, and the Curing of the Cripple. But of this something must be said hereafter.

Meanwhile it is well to add to the slender materials for Masolino's life left us by Vasari¹ the more abundant information afforded by documents. Masolino's repute in his own day was not equal to that of Masaccio. He was entirely neglected by Leon Battista Alberti and Cristoforo Landino. But Albertini, who published a "Memoriale" of statues and pictures at Florence in 1510, describes the Brancacci chapel as the joint work of Masaccio and Masolino, "one half being by the first, the other half by the second, excepting the Crucifixion of St. Peter by Filippino." He adds that St. Peter by Masolino was near Starnina's chapel and close to Masaccio's St. Paul.² Masolino's name is inscribed on the frescoes of Castiglione with the suffix of "de Florentia."

Amongst Florentine painters in the early years of the fifteenth century there is none registered under the name of Tommaso whom we can more closely identify with Masolino than the son of the house painter Cristoforo Fini, residing in the parish of Santa Felicita at Florence, a painter called Tommaso, who matriculated in the Florentine guild of surgeon apothecaries on the 18th of January, 1423.³ An income tax return made by Cristoforo Fini

¹ VASARI, ed. Sansoni, v., pp. 602-6.

² *Memoriale di Molte Statue et Picture sono nella inclitya Cipta di Florentia, per mano di Scultori et Pictori eccellenti Moderni et Antiqui, tracto dalla propria Copia di Messer Francesco Albertini prete Fiorentino, Anno domini 1510.* See p. 16 of the reprint of 1863.

* ³ Newly discovered documents record that in the year 1424, Masolino was commissioned to execute certain frescoes, now lost, in a chapel of the Compagnia di S. Croce, in S. Agostino at Empoli. The following year he received payment for these frescoes at Florence. See G. POGGI, *Masolino e la Compagnia della Croce in Empoli*, in the *Miscellanea d'Arte*, 1905, p. 46 et seq.

in 1427 describes his son Tommaso as being forty-three years old, and at that time absent in Hungary, where he had a claim for certain moneys due to him by the heirs of Filippo Scolari, some time Obergespan of Temesvar.¹ Assuming Masolino to be identical with Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini, we find that he was born in 1383, and this would make it plain that he cannot have been a chaser in the service of Ghiberti, since Ghiberti only competed for the bronze gates of the baptistery in 1403.² But he might have studied painting under Starnina, who was alive till 1408.³ The visit to Rome is uncertain, since we know that Vasari assigns the painting of the Orsini palace to Giotto as well as to Masolino. The date of the commission to paint in the Carmine of Florence is also uncertain. But the Brancacci chapel was bequeathed by Felice Brancacci to his sons on the 26th of June, 1422, about two months after the consecration of the Carminine;⁴ and Tommaso di Cristoforo, as we have just seen, matriculated in the guild of surgeon apothecaries on the 3rd of January, 1423.⁵ His absence in Hungary occurred in 1427.

The collegiate church of Castiglione d'Olona, in which Masolino painted the frescoes which are signed with his name, was, no doubt, adorned with wall paintings some time after the consecration of the building on the 25th of March, 1425, and possibly after its completion in 1428.⁶ The entry of one

¹ See VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., p. 263, note 1.

² Here it has been thought Vasari has confounded Maso, the chaser, who was the son of Bartolommeo, with Tommaso di Cristoforo, who died in 1431. See VASARI, ed. Sansoni, p. 264, note 1.

* The assistant of Ghiberti whom Vasari confounded with Masolino was Tommaso di Cristoforo di Braccio, who died in 1431.

³ VASARI, ii., p. 9, note 4.

⁴ See the record in VASARI (Sansoni ed.), ii. note to p. 296, and RICHA, *Chiese u.s.*, x. p. 18.

⁵ An entry in the accounts of the Compagnia di Sant' Agnese delle Laudi near the Carmine has been found by Signor Milanesi, and published by Kundtzen *Masaccio* (8vo, Copenhagen, 1875), p. 160, as follows: "A Masolino di . . . dipintore a di VIII di Luglio lire due, soldi quatro, sono per dipignere la mighola e metere d'azzurro e oro fino." But we have no evidence that this is the Masolino of the Brancacci chapel.

⁶ See an inscription on the architrave of the church, *postea*, and *De Origine rebus, gestis ac privilegiis Gentis Castillionæ*, in MACREI CASTIGLIONE'S *I. O. Commentaria Mediolani*, pp. 65-9.

* But the church was begun about the year 1421, and finished, for the most part,

Tommasodi Cristoforo in the register of burials at Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence on the 18th of October, 1447, may, perhaps, refer to Masolino.¹

No estimate of the progress which Tuscan painting made under Masolino and Masaccio would be satisfactory unless we should bear in mind the gains which accrued to art during the latter half of the fourteenth century at Florence. It was not enough that Giovanni da Milano should have substituted accuracy of line and searching study of form for some of the conventionalism of the Gaddi. It was not sufficient that realism should have increased under Giotto. The genius of Orcagna was required to concentrate all the elements of progress in a combination which comprised the great qualities of composition known to Giotto with the difficult acquirements of instantaneous movement or action, and some elements of improved perspective. It was necessary that a great master should inherit the sternness of the Florentines, yet temper it with the grace of the Sienese, and give to his painting the breadth of shape and forcible balance of light and shade which had not yet been found together in any artist of earlier generations. Of weaker fibre than Orcagna, but gifted with a very delicate taste, Antonio Veneziano went beyond his precursors in accuracy of observation and power in realising detail, distinguishing the texture as well as the folding of varieties of stuffs, colouring surfaces in tender shades of tints, and perfecting the processes of manipulation in pure fresco. Starnina followed and appears to have bequeathed to Masolino a new purpose and aim in art. Distribution and arrangement, perhaps, lost some of their importance in proportion as harmony and brightness of colour became more constant subjects of study. But attention was more rigidly and successfully confined to the rendering of expression in facial

in 1423. It was, therefore, probably about this time that the frescoes were executed. Moreover, these frescoes are closely related in style to the Madonna at Bremen, which is dated 1423. See P. TONSCA, *Masolino da Panicale*, Bergamo, 1908, p. 16.

*¹ See VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., p. 266. The date of the *Libro dei Morti* is not 1447, but 1440. However, as Schmarsow shows, there are good reasons for believing that 1447 is the date of Masolino's death. See SCHMARSHOW, *Masaccio-Studien* Cassel, 1895, pp. 24, 25.

or muscular action and the reproduction of the natural aspect of draperies.

We should not have been able to discern these varieties but for the recent¹ recovery from whitewash of the frescoes of Castiglione d'Olona, which, as we shall presently observe, are strongly marked with the characteristics of a painter familiar with the traditions of Antonio Veneziano and his disciples, and destined to demonstrate to men of a later age how the same art might be deflected into the amiable and mystic current in which Angelico was borne, and the masculine and realistic current which Masaccio followed.

The frescoes of Castiglione d'Olona may be divided into two groups, one of which comprises illustrations of the life of the Virgin, St. Lawrence, and St. Stephen, the other scenes from the life of John the Baptist. The frescoes of the choir vaulting representing episodes in the life of the Virgin Mary are certified with the signature of the master. They are apparently the earliest of the series. The frescoes on the walls of the choir were probably finished after those of the ceiling. The incidents of the life of St. John in the baptistery annexed to the church are obviously later in date than the rest of the decoration, even though we should not implicitly rely on the date of 1435 on the key-stone of the arch forming the ingress to the tribune.

We saw that the church of Castiglione was consecrated in 1425. The precise date of this event was the 25th of March.² But it appears from an inscription on the architrave of the portal that the edifice as a whole was only completed in 1428, by commission of Cardinal Branda Castiglione, whose figure is carved above the gateway, kneeling under the protection of St. Lawrence, and attended by St. Ambrose and St. Stephen.³

*¹ In the year 1843.

² See *De Origine, etc., Gentis Castillonæ*, in MAESTRI CASTIGLIONE'S *I. C. Comentariorum Mediolani*, 1595, pp. 65-9.

³ The inscription runs so: NOSTRI MILLENVS QVADRINGENTESIMVS ATQVE. VIGEN OCTAVVS DÑI DEVOLVITVR ANNVS DVM GRADIVS SYMMIS PATER IN XPO REVERENDVS AC DÑS BRANDA DOMINVS DE CASTILEONO CARDINEA SEDE RESIDET QVI PRESBYTER IPSE PERFICIT AD LAVDES HOC TEMPLVM VIRGINIS ALMÆ, CVM QVÆ PRIMATES LAVRENTIVS PROTOMARTIR. STEF. ET DIGNÆ SVPERI IMPETRARE SALVTE. The date is repeated MCCCXXVIII in the lunette near the cardinal.

On the face of the arch of ingress to the choir the principal subject of the Death of the Virgin is represented; a remnant of painting is all that is now visible, but figures of saints which still covered the pilasters of the entrance in 1845 have also disappeared. The walls of the choir are divided for decorative purposes into five parts of a pentagon. In the centre face is the altar, above it a remnant of a fresco of the Trinity. At each side of the altar there are two courses of frescoes in four lunettes above four quadrangular fields. Looking into the choir from the ingress, the first lunette to the right of the altar contains the Sermon of St. Stephen, who preaches to a devout congregation from a pulpit. Beneath this composition space is contracted by the aperture of a window, but the wall about the opening and its sloping sides are used for a picture of Stephen before the Judges, and the preparations made for stoning him. The next lunette to the right comprises St. Stephen taking Deacon's Orders, whilst in the course below is the saint's Martyrdom and Burial.

In similar fields and in similar order to the left of the altar, we have St. Lawrence Baptising a Proselyte, and his Burial, his Appearance before the Emperor, and his Martyrdom.¹

The ceiling is cut into six triangular fields, of which the common centre is a relief of Christ with an orb giving the Blessing. In the field above the altar is the Assumption, and if we move round from right to left the next spaces are filled with the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Coronation, the Marriage, and the Epiphany.

The triangular spaces of the ceiling are ill suited for picturesque composition, but Masolino would have done better even under those unfavourable circumstances had he possessed the great maxims of Giottesque distribution. The most striking feature in the scenes from the life of the Virgin is a somewhat languid repose, combined with tenderness of expression and graceful simplicity of lines. The spirit of Angelico, without his depth of religious feeling, seems to have lingered in the painter's breast. Both artists laboured, technically speaking, on the same principles; and they may be supposed to have been educated in the same school. The Virgin, bending with her arms meekly crossed upon

*¹ All these frescoes of the walls of the choir are not from the hand of Masolino, but by two other Tuscan painters, one of whom strives to follow the artistic ideals of Andrea del Castagno, the other, a more careful draughtsman, recalls the manner of the Peselli. See TOESCA, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

her bosom, greets the angel and hears the message with reverence. Her slender forms and delicate profile are youthful, her expression modest. A thin and graceful neck supports a head encircled with locks which fall behind her shoulders in tasteful abundance. In the face of Gabriel we trace the feminine expression which characterises similar representations in the pictures of the Dominican of Fiesole. Equal repose, a similar meekness and tenderness mark the Virgin bending lowly to receive the crown from the Saviour at her side. In both figures, as in those of two angels heading a choir of companions, religious feeling, repose, and slenderness of shape, are recurring features.¹ The architecture of the throne and dais is both elegant and appropriate. Slender pillars supporting the well-proportioned arches of an octagonal temple grace the composition in which the high priest unites Joseph and Mary. The youth breaking the rod, on the right, and a female of elegant form, holding an infant, are worthy of particular attention. To the religious quiet and mild expression noticed in the foregoing frescoes, symmetry is here superadded, yet the composition is far from displaying the severe simplicity of the great Giottoesques. But little remains of the Adoration and Assumption.² The Nativity, however, is peculiarly interesting. In presence of the Virgin and St. Joseph, who kneel before the recumbent Infant, is another figure of noble shape with its head in a white drapery and on its knees with joined hands.³ On a scroll in the angle to the left are the words: MASOLINVS DE FLORENTIA PINXIT.⁴ Two good compositions

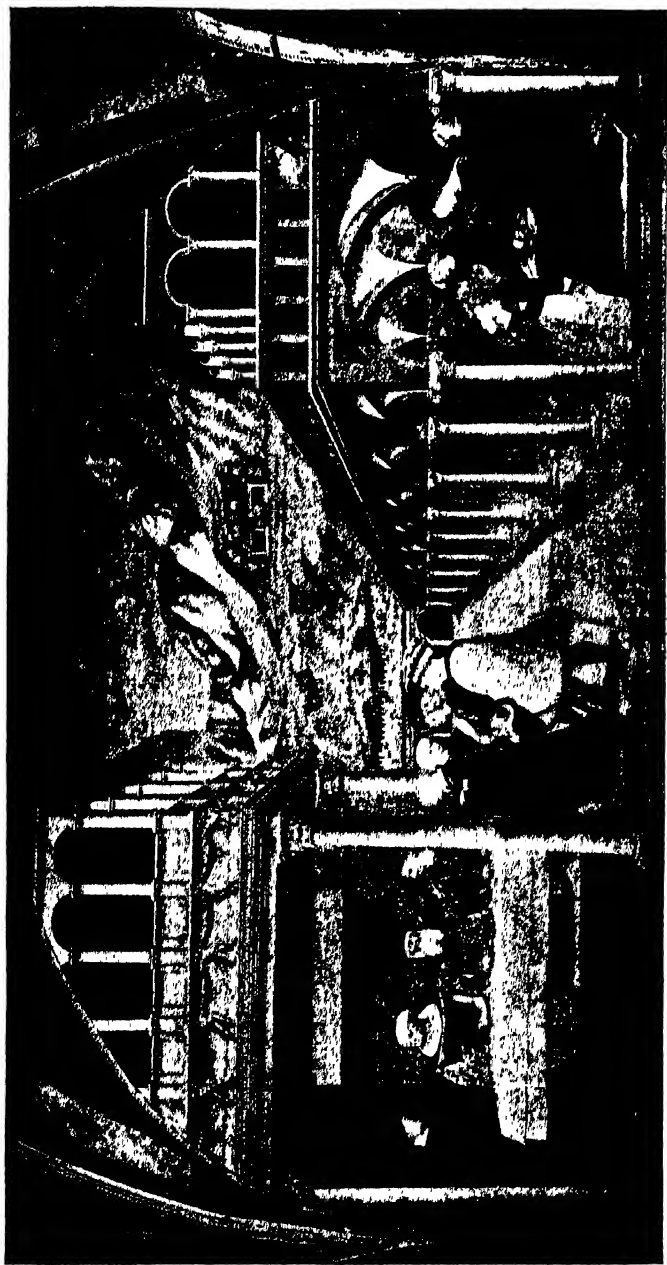
¹ Here, as in the frescoes previously described, the colours of dresses have, in a great measure, disappeared, and the Saviour's blue tunic is now a mere preparation.

² In the first, a kneeling king, a part of the Virgin, St. Joseph, and a fragment of the suite in the distance, have been preserved. In the second, the principal figure surrounded by angels is hardly to be distinguished.

³ Near this figure is another personage. The Virgin's head is in part gone. The yellow draperies of St. Joseph are remarkable for breadth, and the composition is the best arranged of the series, the best adapted to the inconvenient space allotted to the painter.

* The figure with joined hands on the opposite side to St. Joseph (believed by Schmarsow to be the Cardinal Branda) is one of the midwives, as is the other figure near at hand. See TOZSCA, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴ The absence of general harmony of colour is obviously from the fact that large portions have been damaged by whitewash and subsequent scraping; yet enough remains to reveal the technical methods of the painter. Compared with the frescoes of the ceiling, those of the sides of the choir are rudely worked in, and the hand of



HEROD'S FEAST

By MASOLINO

From a fresco in the Baptistery of Castiglione d'Olena

Altieri, photo.

on the walls below the ceiling are the St. Lawrence giving alms and St. Lawrence before the judges; but the execution is not on a level with the arrangement. Some of the figures in the Martyrdom, especially the horsemen of the escort, are cleverly drawn and correct in action, and the executioner feeding the fire is energetic. But the most remarkable figure is that of St. Lawrence, lying foreshortened, after his martyrdom, in which a close study and good rendering of nude form are revealed.

The frescoes of the Baptistry, which now claim attention, are executed in the same manner, yet not without variety by the same hand as those of the choir of the church.

Outside and above the entrance the drawing, or rather the engraved outline, of an Annunciation with the Eternal¹ in a lunette still exists, the heads both recalling the type and sweet expressions of Angelico's creations. The Baptistry is built in the form of a parallelogram, with a tribune of the same shape but smaller dimensions attached to it. Moving to the right as we enter the Baptistry, we notice on the entrance wall traces of figures in a temple. On the next is the Daughter of Herodias before Herod, with the usual attendant episodes; by the side of the arch leading into the tribune the Execution of St. John. The rest of the Baptistry is denuded of fresco, except in that part which faces the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias, where Zacharias may be seen writing the name of his new-born son. In the vaulting of the arch forming the entrance to the tribune are six saints, and in the key-stone the date of 1435, repainted possibly on the lines of an earlier inscription. On the wall of the tribune and to the spectator's left,

apprentices may be traced. The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence is almost gone. Soldiers and a lame beggar on the right foreground are all that remain of the fresco in which St. Lawrence performs the rite of baptism. Where St. Stephen preaches from a pulpit the audience is all but obliterated. Where he appears in an open lodge surrounded by a crowd, the best preserved figures are those on the left of two females sitting. Mere vestiges indicate the place about and beneath the rose window of the choir, where the Eternal and the Redeemer, with the dove of the Holy Ghost between them, representing the Trinity, was once depicted. The subjects everywhere cover, not merely the surface of the wall of the building, but the thickness of the openings of the windows. The drawing which is now visible seems to have been bold and decisive.

In a chapel to the right some rude figures on pilasters, including effigies of St. Roch and St. Sebastian, painted in the same style as the walls of the choir; but these have been subjected to a renewed process of whitewash.

* ¹ This figure is not the Eternal, but St. John the Baptist in half-figure.

St. John preaches to the multitude; in the lunette and sides of the end wall he baptises, and is brought before Herod, whilst on the face to the right he appears in prison. The ceiling of the Baptistery, divided as usual by diagonals, contains the four Evangelists; that of the tribune, the Saviour, in a glory of angels.

One of the most striking features in the fresco of the Daughter of Herodias is the daring with which the painter tries but fails to overcome great difficulties of perspective. To the left Salome, followed by four men, makes her request to Herod, who is seated with his guests in a peristyle; Herodias to the right, receiving from her daughter the head of the Baptist, is seated at the opening of a colonnade forming a court, the perspective of which is carried to an elevated horizon. The arches rest on slender pillars, and support the cornice and parapet of a terrace. The style of the architecture is the same as that which Angelico introduced into the Annunciation of San Marco at Florence. It is Tuscan of the fifteenth century; but its proportions are small and out of keeping with the size of the figures; and the height of the horizon, as well as the absence of a common centre of vision, reveals the insufficient skill of one unacquainted with the science of perspective. The most casual glance will convince us of the great inferiority of the perspective here displayed in comparison with that of the frescoes at the Brancacci chapel in Florence.¹ Herod's daughter, contrary to custom and tradition, presents herself modestly, and makes her request with reverence, her arms being crossed on her bosom.² She is attended by four courtiers, the chief of whom is in profile, and wears a cap of large projection. His features are evidently taken from life. A cold repose and a formal action characterise the whole group. Two girls of slender shape and in affected attitudes stand with uplifted arms at each side of Herodias as she receives from her kneeling daughter the head of the Baptist. The thin profile of Herodias is marred by a prodigious turban and diadem. The scene is orderly and calm rather than stirring; and the painter

*¹ Other critics maintain that in the Banquet of Herod and the Naming of St. John the perspective is superior to that of the frescoes of the Brancacci chapel and of San Clemente.

² To the right of the table.



FIVE FIGURES FROM "HEROD'S FEAST"

BY MASOLINO

A detail from a fresco in the Baptistery of Castiglione d'Olena

Alinari, photo.

has evidently bestowed great care on the heads.¹ Neglecting the Decapitation and the figures in the vaulting of the arch leading into the tribune,² we turn to the ceiling of the baptistery, where a graceful angel, kneeling by the figure of St. John, seems to inspire him as he writes.³ The well-preserved figure of St. Luke, with pen in hand and in deep thought, is much in the character of Angelico.⁴ No one who has seen the chapel at San Clemente at Rome, which Vasari describes as having been decorated by Masaccio, with scenes from the life of St. Catherine, will fail to observe in them a character akin to that which marks the figures of this ceiling—figures in general of a long slender character, draped in somewhat spare vestments, with folds affecting festooned forms.⁵

Many heads of listeners round St. John the Baptist in the desert are remarkable for the care with which youth, manhood, and old age are studied. In the Baptism of the Saviour a deep stream, running from distant hills through a wilderness of rocky ledges, separates the Baptist, kneeling on the right and pouring water over the Saviour's head from three ministering angels on the left bank. The soft features of the Redeemer, who stands up to His knees in the current, the fair proportion of His naked frame, are evidence of Masolino's careful study of nature; but the type still preserves its relationship to that of the fourteenth century. The angels which are the best part of the composition again invite comparison with those of Angelico, whose purity and tenderness of expression are here very nearly attained. St. John is a much damaged figure, but behind him four proselytes, one of

¹ The Burial of St. John is an episode in the distance.

² The executioner is in complete armour. St. John, prostrate, awaits the blow, an angel hovering above. Amongst the figures in the vaulting is St. Jerome writing. His dress, like others in the chapel, is altered. Appropriate in attitude are the other doctors of the Church, and characteristic a prophet with a scroll massively draped in a green mantle shot with white.

³ The head of St. John is, however, damaged. * This figure represents St. Matthew, not St. John.

⁴ St. Matthew writes pensively with the eagle at his side. [* This figure is not St. Matthew, but St. John. He is not writing, but is wrapt in thought.] St. Mark mends a pen with the lion by him. In the centre of the ceiling is the Lamb.

⁵ The ceiling as a whole has been damaged. The blue background is gone, and the golden nimbuses are blackened.

whom waits for his turn to be baptised, whilst two are stripping, and a fourth resumes his clothes, show in Masolino such a diligent and careful study of the nude model as appears to have been unknown to, and above the powers of, Antonio Veneziano or any others till the rise of Masaccio. The figure nearest the Baptist, half covered by a cloth, looks with apparent interest at the solemn rite;¹ the second, seen from behind drawing his garment from over his shoulders, has much elasticity of movement; the third, standing on his left leg, pulls off a stocking; the fourth, seated, draws on an under-garment. These are all isolated studies of nude, foreshadowing the greater perfection of Masaccio, but betraying Masolino's realism and absence of genius as a composer. Beneath these last figures the Baptist may be seen taken before Herod and Herodias, who are seated on a throne.²

In every part of these frescoes Masolino displays the progress of one who sacrificed almost everything to the detail of form, neglecting the great maxims of composition for a careful and minute study of nature. The general mass is sacrificed, solitary figures are unduly prominent. The principles which guided the great Giottesques in the distribution of their figures and groups seem forgotten, whilst progress is apparent only in the working out of the parts. Precise and correct in the design and shadowing of flesh Masolino was not gifted with variety; and the sameness which strikes us betrays another weak point in the artist's organisation. As regards technical execution the damaged state of the frescoes precludes a fair judgment; but it would appear, from such portions as have escaped the general wreck, that a light, clear, rosy tone was prevalent throughout. The surface intended for the heads was polished and smooth. The shadows were laid on with thin tints of greenish grey, touched over with fluid glazes, and united to the rosy yellow lights by a careful stippling seeking the direction of the curve to be represented. Some retouching with full body colour brings out the highest

*¹ This man appears to be drawing a garment about him and shivering with cold. A similar figure is in the fresco of St. Peter Baptising, in the Brancacci chapel.

² Close by, on the right-hand wall of the tribune, an executioner closes the door of the Baptist's cell, and John appears in prayer at the barred window.

lights.¹ The system resembles that which might be used in painting a miniature on vellum, the surface of which should serve for the lights, whilst transparent shadows, receiving brilliancy from the white underground, might be considered sufficient to produce the effect of rotundity. This is exactly the system illustrated in the frescoes of San Clemente at Rome, and in the numerous works of Angelico, a system which, having the advantage of rapidity, enables us to understand the speed with which the Dominican laboured. It was that of John van Eyck, as may be seen in his St. Barbara at Antwerp. But, whilst it enabled Masolino to paint rapidly, it deprived him of some considerable advantages. It explains his want of power, the flatness of his painting, and the absence of mass in light or shadow. His careful drawing and study of form were nullified by lack of contrasts and balanced light and shade.² The general key of harmonies resulting from the system is feeble, and does nothing to retrieve the coldness otherwise peculiar to the figures and groups. The draperies, though easy in fold, are far from massive; and there are traces, in certain female dresses, of profuse embossed embroideries. Masolino thus gave the example in the purely Florentine school of surcharging dresses with borders, and showed himself a slave of Lombard fashion in the middle of the fifteenth century. Fra Filippo Lippi and Benozzo Gozzoli inherited this defect which Angelico and Masaccio avoided. Nor was this a solitary failing in Masolino. He was equally careless of preserving traditional scriptural costume; and his personages are dressed in vast caps and turbans, mantles and tights, spoiling by their overweight or excessive clinging the effect of the finely

*¹ It seems that the artist first sketched rapidly on the wet intonaco the outlines of the figure which he afterwards painted in *à secco*. Only the heads are entirely painted in *buon fresco*, and for that reason they are better preserved than the rest of the picture. See TOZSCA, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 and 48.

² Though some of the darker colours of dresses in the figures at Castiglione have been repainted with a smoke colour of an offensive tone, some greens and reds which have been preserved are obviously laid on in water colour. The green mantle of the prophet in the vaulting of the arch leading into the tribune is a sufficient example, the white ground serving for lights, a superficial green for the shadows. The yellows in other figures are treated in a similar manner, and in some cases shot tissues with red shadows and green lights were introduced.

studied heads, and the delicate hands and feet, which he so carefully imitated from nature. In this study he had surpassed his predecessors, including Antonio Veneziano; but as in composition he failed to preserve the laws of appropriate distribution, and forgot the great maxims of the Giottesques, so in single figures the head frequently did not correspond with the proportions of the frame, the figure with the group into which it was introduced, the group with others in its vicinity, the whole with the architecture. Masolino in fact wanted the principle of unity, and had art continued in the track which he followed, it would speedily have sunk to a lower level. But Masaccio, a man of higher genius, appeared, and again replaced it upon a grand and secure basis.

We have not, as before remarked, authentic examples of Starnina to compare with those of Antonio Veneziano or Masolino, but nothing in the chronology of Antonio, Starnina, Masolino, Angelico, and Masaccio is contrary to the belief that the painter of the Castiglione frescoes might be the disciple of one who, like Starnina, learnt the art from Antonio.

Having now sufficient acquaintance with a series of Masolino's works, we turn to the Brancacci chapel and find in the first place that the frescoes which adorn it were executed between 1422, when the Carmine was consecrated, and 1428, when Masaccio died, and were therefore antecedent to the frescoes of Castiglione, which were clearly produced about 1428, when Masaccio died, or between 1428 and 1435.¹ Yet, in the face of things, it is clear that the Brancacci frescoes are abler than those of Castiglione, and by a different hand. Extending the comparison to Rome, we find that the frescoes of San Clemente, assigned by Vasari to Masaccio, are technically like those of Castiglione di Olona, yet obviously earlier in date than the frescoes of the Brancacci

*¹ The whole argument of this paragraph rests on the two assumptions, which we believe to be incorrect, that the frescoes of the Collegiata at Castiglione d'Olona were painted in 1428, and that the frescoes in the Baptistery are of the same date as those in the church. As we have already shown, it is probable that the frescoes in the Collegiata were painted in 1428 and those of the Baptistery in 1435. In the frescoes in the Collegiata Masolino's art still belongs to the trecento: in the frescoes of the Baptistery we find the handiwork of an artist who has deserted Gothic conventions for the naturalism of the age of Donatello and Masaccio.

chapel. But if the decoration of Castiglione is later in date than that of Florence, which itself is later than that of San Clemente, it follows that San Clemente must be the creation of a man who, if taught originally by Masolino, rose subsequently out of the form which we meet at Rome to a style of greater perfection at Florence. It cannot follow that Masolino is the author of frescoes at Rome which, though later in date, are more feeble and primitive in style than those of the Brancacci chapel.¹ Vasari, it is true, believed and declares that Masolino painted the Raising of Tabitha, St. John and St. Peter Curing the Lame, and Peter's Sermon in that chapel, as well as the ceiling-pieces and other subjects at the Carmine, which are no longer preserved. But he made this wholesale statement at random, and certainly without the knowledge of Masolino's style, which he would have acquired had he seen the church of Castiglione. Nor, indeed, had he had much occasion to study Masolino's works in any place except Florence, since he had not seen the paintings which he declared to have been executed in the Orsini Palace at Rome. None of Vasari's successors amongst the historians and chroniclers of art was in a better position than himself, and hence the difficulties now almost insurmountable in the way of modern research.

The utmost that criticism has attempted, after accepting the tradition that Masolino painted at the Brancacci, was to define the variety between his style and that of Masaccio, a task of no small difficulty where all that now exists was probably done by the latter. The Brancacci frescoes display the same principle of execution, the same technique of colour, the same maxims and laws in every part, be they assigned to Masolino or to Masaccio. With as much reason as one might have affirmed that Raphael's Crucifixion of Città di Castello was not by the same hand as the Liberation of St. Peter at the Vatican, because Raphael in the latter displayed a matured style, those parts of the Brancacci chapel which were first finished by Masaccio were compared with

*¹ We shall discuss later the vexed question of the date and authorship of the frescoes of S. Clemente. For the present it suffices to say that we regard these frescoes as works of Masolino, painted after his return from Hungary in 1428, and that 1431 is the latest date to which they can be assigned.

those which received at a later time all the impress of experience and training later acquired. Qualities were more developed in some than in others, in proportion as Masaccio gained confidence and skill. If there be any difference between the Raising of Tabitha and the Cure of the Cripple at the Temple Gate, which some critics assign to Masolino, and that of the Tribute Money, which all agree to be by Masaccio, the same variety may be traced between the Tribute Money and the Resurrection of the Boy,¹ which are both conceded to Masaccio. Compare Adam and Eve beneath the Tree of Knowledge, given to Masolino, with Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise, attributed to Masaccio; the nude of the latter is but a development of the style displayed in the nude of the former.² Compare, again, the nude of the Expulsion with that of the Baptism, also an undoubted work by Masaccio; the latter is as great an improvement on the Expulsion as the Expulsion was an improvement on that of Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge. The study of naked form in these three frescoes was developed with each successive spring which Masaccio took. Like Raphael at Rome he started timidly and reached his goal in triumph. His was indeed a wonderful development of genius. He possessed, as may be shown more fully hereafter, qualities of which a painter of the sixteenth century might have been proud.

The church of the Carmine was consecrated, as we have seen, in 1422,³ and a fresco in monochrome of the Consecration was painted by Masaccio in the cloisters shortly after he had commenced his labours in the Cappella Brancacci. Masaccio therefore painted in the chapel probably for Felice di Piuvichese after 1422; but Vasari says he undertook a work which Masolino had left unfinished at his death, which is so far wrong, since Masaccio died about 1428, and Masolino appears to have been the survivor.

It may be that Masolino and Masaccio were both engaged to

¹ Exclusive, of course, of that piece which Filippino painted.

² The differences between the four existing frescoes assigned by Vasari to Masolino, and such a fresco as the Tribute Money, are far greater than the authors realised. In them we see none of the fine sculpturesque modelling, the strong colour, the masterly simplicity of the drapery, the individual expression in the faces that we find in the frescoes that modern critics are almost united in giving to Masaccio.

³ April 19th, 1422. See RICHARD, *Chiese, u.s.*, x., p. 18.



ST. PETER RESUSCITATING TABITHA

By MASOLINO

From a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine, Florence

Altieri, photo.

decorate the Brancacci chapel at the same time. It may have happened that Masolino completed his labours first, since it is natural to suppose that the ceilings and upper walls of the chapel were executed before the lower course. It is uncertain when Masolino and Masaccio left the Brancacci chapel. The presence of Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini in Hungary in 1427, if we accept his identity with Masolino, may be explained by supposing that Filippo Scolari sent for him, or it may have been brought about by other causes such as that, having claims on Filippo for work done in Italy, and hearing of his death, Masolino went to Hungary to obtain payment of his debt from Filippo's heirs. But all this is clearly conjectural. History has seldom recorded a more startling example of the height to which fortune may bring a penniless youth than that of Filippo Scolari, better known in the annals of his country under the name of Pippo Spano,¹ who, being an exile at Buda, entered the service of Sigismund, King of Hungary, and, rising rapidly in the favour of that prince, acquired a considerable fortune. During Sigismund's difficulties with his rebellious barons Pippo abandoned the desk for the sword, distinguished himself as a captain and a statesman, became Obergespan of Temesvar, led a campaign into Italy, routed the Turks in more than one encounter, and died full of honours in 1427. The most exaggerated accounts are given by contemporary historians of the churches and edifices which he built in his adopted country, employing, perhaps, some of the best artists that could be found in Florence for that purpose.² If Masolino practised his art in Hungary, evidence of this art is not now forthcoming. It is on record that Tommaso di Cristoforo, who may have been Masolino, earned and was to receive from the heirs of Pippo Spano 360 florins of the common Florentine currency, but it is not stated for what services the money was due. It is about 1428 that we must suppose Masolino to have accepted from Cardinal Branda Castiglione the commission to paint the choir of the church

¹ Spano is evidently the Italian contraction of the word "Gespan."

² See for particulars of Pippo Spano (in *Archivio Storico Ital.*, u.s., iv., *Vite*, i.) a life by an anonymous contemporary, another by Jacopo di Messer Poggio, with the notes of C. Canestrini and F. L. Polidori.

which that prelate had just brought to completion at Castiglione d'Olona. Thus, if Masolino painted at all in the Brancacci chapel, he must have done so previous to 1427, and therefore previous to the time when the Castiglione frescoes were completed. But if we compare the two series of paintings we shall doubt the possibility of this.¹ The characteristic features of Masolino's style at Castiglione are not to be found in the Brancacci, so it may well be affirmed that none of the paintings now in the Brancacci are by him. He may have been Masaccio's master, as Vasari states. The age of the two painters, Masolino's manner, which Masaccio inherited, would confirm that theory. He may even have commenced the distribution of space and subjects in the side walls and, for some reason, he may have thrown up the commission; but he was certainly not prevented by death, for between 1428 and perhaps 1435 he executed frescoes at Castiglione.

But the paintings at the Brancacci, so far as they are not by Filippino, only show that the same style and methods were characteristic in Masaccio and in Masolino, though there is a wide difference between the two in the development and manifestation of their art.

It may be inquired again whether the converse of Vasari's facts might have been possible, and whether Masolino might not have finished what Masaccio left incomplete. Masaccio at his death was twenty-five years of age; Masolino, if we accept the theory that he is identical with Tommaso di Cristoforo, was forty-five years old in 1427. Could Masolino at that date have changed his artistic nature so as to transform a style like that of Castiglione into that of Masaccio himself? The answer is not that this is impossible, but that it is highly improbable. In a lunette of the convent of San Severo at Perugia, Raphael painted

*1 If it be admitted that the frescoes at the Brancacci chapel are anterior in date to those in the Collegiata at Castiglione d'Olona, then the two series of frescoes must be given to two different artists. But, as we have shown, the probable date of the frescoes in the Collegiata is 1423, and those of the Carmine from 1424 to 1426. During this latter period we find that Masolino was in Florence, from two documents which record him as living in Florence in 1424 and 1425. He left for Hungary in 1427, when Masaccio was summoned to complete the work. Returning to Florence in 1423 or 1424, Masolino was at once powerfully influenced by the great movement in art that had Florence for its centre.

a fresco in 1505 or 1507. Beneath it is work of the same sort, done by Perugino in 1521. No one will confound the two pieces together. Perugino and Raphael remain true to themselves, and such very probably was the case as regards Masolino and Masaccio. It may also be considered within the range of possibility that Masaccio and Masolino are one person, but the arguments and facts which have just been set forth would seem to negative any supposition of the kind.

Having thus endeavoured to show that the paintings now in the Brancacci chapel can only be by Masaccio and Filippino, it may be interesting to follow such traces as remain of Masolino and of his manner in Lombardy.¹

A small panel in the sacristy of the collegiate church of Castiglione di Olona represents the Annunciation. The Virgin is seated under an architectural lodge, a book is on her lap, and her hands joined in prayer. The angel bows before her, and above the group the Eternal, in a circular halo, sends a ray from His presence conveying the dove of the Holy Ghost. On a parapet in the background is a vase of lilies. This careful miniature-like picture is very fairly assignable to Masolino on account of its light treatment and tinting, and amiable character generally.²

In the Baptistery of Empoli a fresco on one of the walls represents Christ standing up to His middle in a square sarcophagus. The Virgin on the left supports one of the hands. Mary Magdalen on the right bends over the other. Behind the group is the cross; in a pediment above it two busts of prophets in rounds and a cloth of St. Veronica. The deep feeling in the movement and expressions of the figures, the fine drawing of the extremities, and a certain reminiscence of Angelico in the treatment, would justify us in assigning this wall painting to Masolino or even to Masaccio. But it would be unwise to give either name positively, because the fresco is not free from injury or corrosion.³

¹ Sir H. LAYARD, in *The Brancacci Chapel and Masolino, Masaccio, and Filippino Lippi* (8vo, London, 1868), p. 14 and fol., assigns the Raising of Tabitha and St. Peter Healing the Cripple to Masolino; but his argument is to us not convincing.

² This picture, as Toesca suggests, is more probably by the artist of the school of the Peselli who executed the frescoes on the walls of the choir of the Collegiata.

³ Berenson rightly gives to Masolino a fresco of the Madonna and Child with two angels in the church of S. Stefano at Empoli, and the fine Annunciation in Lord Wemyss' collection at Gosford House, Scotland. On the fresco at Empoli, see BERENSON, *Quelques peintures méconnues de Masolino*, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1902, xxvii., p. 89 et seq.

There are vestiges of a painting¹ representing the Benevolence of St. Martin in a part of the ex-Palazzo Branda at Castiglione, said to have been once the Cardinal's private chapel, and these vestiges are like those of Masolino.²

At Milan, in the palace of the Marquis Trivulzio, is a small Coronation of the Virgin on gold ground, of the school of Masolino. It is not of much interest, and was previously in the Rinuccini gallery.

A St. Francis receiving the Stigmata in the gallery at Modena,³ assigned to Masolino, is so rude in execution and so different in style from the master's originals, that but for its existence in a public collection it need not be noticed.

The Virgin and Child assigned to Masolino in the Liverpool gallery is not by him.⁴

A much damaged Annunciation in the gallery of Munich once bore the name of Masolino, but is probably an early production of Fra Filippo Lippi in the spirit of Masolino.⁵

*¹ Probably the authors saw much more of the fresco than remains to-day. See TOMESCA, *op. cit.*, p. 44, and CAGNOLA, *Un affresco inedito di Masolino da Panicale*, in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1904, p. 75.

² On the wall of No. 18, in the chief street of Castiglione, is an Annunciation which discloses a common painter taught from the models of the same master. The same influence may be traced in a wall painting on the front of a house in the Piazza San Scolastica at Castiglione, representing the Virgin and Child between a bishop and St. Scolastica with a palm and a dragon. An inscription, which may have been that of the painter, is now illegible. Above the door of the same building, which seems to have been a mint, are three medallion portraits with the date of 1504, showing that for nearly eighty years the example of Masolino left unmistakable traces in a single town of an unimportant class.

³ No. 47.

⁴ No. 11.

⁵ Munich, No. 1007. Wood, 0.70 m. high by 0.79. * Now catalogued as by Fra Filippo.

* In the Kunsthalle at Bremen is a Madonna and Child, dated 1423, which is generally recognised as a work of Masolino. The Trinity in the Munich Gallery (No. 1,019), which Mr. Borensen gives to Masolino, though most assuredly Masolinian, is not, in our opinion, by that master, but by some artist of a later date who was powerfully influenced both by Masolino and Masaccio. The very robust limbs of the child and his intimate facial expression point to a later date. May we suggest in passing that to assert roundly that "No one else could have painted this picture," or to endeavour to arrive at an attribution by a method of exclusion, is hardly scientific, as there were undoubtedly in Italy in the quattrocento many considerable artists of whose works we know nothing or next to nothing.!

Believing as we do that the S. Clemente frescoes are by Masolino, we must regard the two pictures in the Naples Museum, given by the authors to Masaccio, as works of the elder master. F. M. Perkins gives to Masolino a fresco of the Madonna and Angels which is in S. Fortunato at Todi in the fourth chapel on the right. See PARKINS, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, pp. 184-7.

In the upper cloisters of Sant' Appollonia at Florence, a fresco is preserved representing Christ crucified, with nuns kneeling at the foot of the cross, attended by a group of children of modern execution. On the basement of the picture is the date of 1440, and the name of Pagholo di Stefano, whose style recalls that of the school of Masolino.

According to Vasari,¹ one of Masolino's disciples was Paolo Schiavo, who, in a Virgin and Child, executed at Florence on the "Canto de' Gori," foreshortened his figures, so that the feet appeared from below to stand on the cornice, and who strove much to follow the manner of Masolino. This Paolo may be identical with the Pagholo of Sant' Appollonia, and records tell us that Schiavo's real name was Paolo di Stefano, called Badaloni, who lived at Pisa in the middle of the fifteenth century.² The manner of Masolino, as understood by Vasari, is that of Masaccio, and his remarks regarding foreshortening might indicate that Paolo Schiavo was a pupil of the latter rather than of the former. A Madonna between St. John the Baptist and another saint³ still decorates the corner described by Vasari, which now goes by the common appellation of Cantonelle⁴; but none of the figures are entire. They are seen to the knee only, a modern cornice possibly covering the lower extremities; and the painting itself is so damaged as to disclose little respecting its age or the style of the artist. Of Schiavo we must therefore be content to remain in ignorance.

¹ VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., p. 266.

² See annot. to VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., p. 266. Besides the Crucifixion in Sant' Appollonia, there is also a fresco in a lunette above a door representing Christ in His tomb between two angels, also executed by Pagholo di Stefano.

³ The Infant on the Virgin's arm carries a book, and the saint on the Virgin's right reads.

⁴ For Canto di Nelli.

CHAPTER III

MASACCIO

IN a dedication to the *De Pictura* Leon Battista Alberti declares "that the spirit of the ancients passed into the frames of Ghiberti, Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Masaccio, and fitted them for the most honourable enterprises." In thus commending the Florentines of the fifteenth century he gave a verdict confirmed by the judgment of later times.

Donatello, tempering modern realism by appeals to the antique,¹ rose to the rank of a reformer. Ghiberti, by introducing the elements of perspective into sculpture, gave an active impulse to a science useful to the statuary, but indispensable to the painter. Brunelleschi, by reviving or acquiring the secrets of proportion and mechanics, remodernised architecture.

Masaccio carried into painting the plastic boldness of Donatello combined with new laws of relief by light, shade, and atmosphere. Superior to his age in most acquirements, he only remained second to Paolo Uccello in the solution of problems afterwards familiar to Piero della Francesca and Mantegna. Ambitious to rival Giotto he grasped and put into practice the true maxims of composition; and years before Alberti committed his thoughts to writing he strove to concentrate within himself the large experience of the past and the novel acquirements of the present. It is hard to assign a limit to the probable success of an organisation so noble and so subtle as was that of Masaccio. Had he lived even to Raphael's age, he would, perhaps, have gained unexampled renown. Dying before thirty he achieved what no man of his years had achieved before in Christian Italy; he was acknowledged as the principal cause of the subsequent greatness of the Florentine school.

¹ See BODE, *Florentine Sculptors*, London, 1908, pp. 5-7.

Masaccio was the son of a notary, Ser Giovanni di Simone Guidi, of the family of the Scheggia which had its possessions, if not its residence, in Castel San Giovanni di Val d'Arno.¹ He was born on the 21st of December, 1401,² and according to a tradition which in the sixteenth century still assigned to him certain youthful productions, he displayed from childhood an inclination for the study of design. At the age of twenty-three he was enrolled in the guild of the Speziali at Florence,³ and if it should hereafter be confirmed by records, as it is affirmed by Vasari, and probably from a conformity of technical processes and feeling, that he studied under Masolino,⁴ it will appear that he entered that guild before his master. A year after Masolino was enrolled amongst the barber surgeons Masaccio was balloted (1424) into the guild of painters.⁵ The course of his studies up to this time can only be conjectured; but we are able to discern that from a very early period he attracted the attention of his contemporaries. He was well acquainted with Brunelleschi and Donatello, taking lessons from the former in linear perspective, from the latter in the mode of copying nature and foreshortening.⁶ He was no stranger to Paolo Uccello. He honoured and respected, as we can see by his works, the masters of past centuries, especially Giotto. In a long series of works which to our great disappointment have perished, he seems to have given copious illustrations of his talent. His acquirements in perspective were

¹ BALDINUCCI, *u.s.*, v., p. 291; VASARI, ii., p. 288.

² An anonymous MS. preserved at Florence and recently read for the first time in our days by Gaetano Milanese, contains notices of contemporary celebrities and, amongst others, of Masaccio, respecting whom the expressions are used: "A dì 15 di Settembre 1472 mi disse lo Scheggia suo (Masaccio's) fratello che (Masaccio) nacque nel 1401 al dì di Santo Tomaso apostolo, ch'è a dì 21 di Dicembre."

* See MILANESI, *Operette istoriche*, Florence, 1887. This MS. of short biographies is given, upon very insufficient grounds, to Antonio Manetti.

³ So 1421 in BALDINUCCI. But others have read 1423. *Vide* BALDINUCCI, *u.s.*, v., p. 293.

* The precise date of the matriculation is January 7, 1422.

⁴ "Masolino da Panicale stato suo maestro" (VASARI, ii., pp. 289, 300).

⁵ He is registered there in 1424 as "Maso di Ser Giovanni di Chastello S. Giovanni" GUALANDI, *Memorie*, Serie Sesta, 1845, p. 186). * According to other authorities this registration is without date. See *Miscellanea d'Arte*, Florence, 1903, p. 196.

⁶ VASARI, ii., pp. 289, 300. * See also TANFANI CENTOFANTI, *Notizie di artisti, etc.*, Pisa, 1898, pp. 178-80.

displayed in the backgrounds of two pictures, one representing Christ casting out a devil, the other an Annunciation. In a fresco of St. Ivo in the Badia of the Benedictines of Florence, he showed how it was possible to represent the foreshortening of parts seen from below the line of the horizon. He painted much, in fact, both on panel and in fresco, then, more than ever convinced of the necessity of travel for the expansion of pictorial power, he made a pilgrimage to Rome.¹

Here, for the moderns, his career begins, for in the Crucifixion and scenes from the legends of St. Catherine and St. Ambrogio, with which he decorated a chapel at San Clemente for the cardinal of that name, we trace the earliest development of his style.²

On the wall facing the entrance of the chapel the Saviour is depicted crucified between the two thieves. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the cross. Soldiers in armour and on horseback are scattered in a line across the picture in various attitudes as they wind along a serpentine path about the cross. On the foreground to the left, four persons converse as they look at the execution. Judas with a purse, has a menacing expression. In the same line, and nearer the centre of the foreground, the Virgin in a swoon is held erect by the three Marys,³ St. John Evangelist standing by.

The scene lacks the quality of scientific composition, and betrays the absence of those severe laws of distribution which prevailed in the fourteenth century. It displays, in spite of extensive damage and restoring, beauty in groups, study of the foreshortening of form, and some realism. The figure of the Saviour, in an attitude which is still Giottesque, is fairly proportioned, and shows a certain mastery of the nude. The pendent and flexible body of the penitent thief, with the legs crossed over each other, though imperfectly foreshortened, is still remarkable for searching anatomy, and for a boldness seldom equalled or surpassed at that period. And this figure alone would suffice to

¹ VASARI, ii., pp. 290, 291, and 293.

² The first chapel to the right as you enter the side portal of the church of San Clemente at Rome is that assigned by Vasari to Masaccio (VASARI, ii., p. 293).

³ This damaged group reveals a fixed intention, carried out with such power that Perugino did not disdain to copy it.

prove that Masaccio was familiar with the principles upon which Donatello based his art.

Grand again, and bold as well as expressive, is the group of the Virgin and her attendant women in which we note a fine combination of masculine strength and feminine grace, fitted to impress, as we may believe that it did impress, in a later age, Perugino and his pupil Raphael. Two guards on horseback, one to the left seen from behind, the second to the right looking up, display the master's effort to assimilate some elements of the science of perspective so dear to Paolo Uccello and so successfully introduced into the later works of Verrocchio, Donatello, and Mantegna.

Four scenes in the wall spaces about the chapel window to the right, represent the childhood of St. Catherine and her miraculous intervention during a flood at Alexandria; beneath which two special compositions illustrate the legend of St. Ambrose.¹ To the right of the window the saint is on his death-bed attended by a young priest. At the foot of the bed, but invisible to the sick man, are four priests in conversation. The legend says they were talking of Ambrose's successor Simplicianus, and Ambrose approved and the infant Christ appeared to sanction this approval. The boy Saviour is here seen in a niche of the wall. To the left of the window is Ambrose flying from a house where he and his suite had been staying and the building swallowed by an earthquake.

The dying Ambrose in the first of these paintings recalls a similar figure in Giotto's *Dream of the Bishop of Assisi* at the Bardi chapel in Santa Croce of Florence.

The opposite wall, again, illustrates the legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria, her defeat of the doctors before Maxentius, her rejection of the pagan idol, her conversion of the Queen from the window of her cell, the vanity of her torture by the wheel, the decapitation of the

¹ These four frescoes are greatly injured. They have been transferred to canvas, but must soon perish.

* In all the frescoes on the right wall of the chapel is told the legend of St. Ambrose. On them is depicted: (1) the infant saint, with the bees putting honey on his lips; (2) the election of Ambrose as bishop; (3) the saint leaving the house of an evildoer which is being flooded; (4) the death of the saint.

Queen, and her own. In the first of these episodes, St. Catherine, standing in the centre of a hall, where eight doctors are seated along the walls, propounds and enforces her arguments by the action of one hand on the other. Her reasoning seems chiefly directed to one on the foreseat to the left, who looks up, whilst his arms are crossed on a book resting on his knee. Maxentius sits surprised, yet majestic, on a throne at the bottom of the room.

In this, the finest composition of the series, and that which has suffered the least damage, the grandeur and simplicity, the spirit and gravity which strike us in the Brancacci chapel, are revealed. The equilibrium and harmony of the distribution, the proportions of the figures, not only in themselves, but with reference to the architecture, are far beyond the level of Masolino as he appears to us in Castiglione d'Olona. The simplest attitude, action, and expression, may be remarked in St. Catherine, and her earnestness appears convincing to the doctors, in whom varied emotion is betrayed and delineated, by play of limb, of frame, and of features.

The sequel of the Dispute is told in a picture on the wall, where the converted philosophers are burning—martyrs to the new faith which they have confessed.

Above the Dispute St. Catherine points at and derides the idol on a pillar; a crowd in the temple is led by a man whose forms have the fine character of those in the Brancacci chapel. Her own shape and outline are fine, and that of a youth on the left foreground, who firmly treads on the floor of the temple, pleases by its nobleness. Nothing can be more graceful, natural, or tender, than the action of the Queen, seated before the prison window, and of St. Catherine leaning out of it; nothing more earnest than the expression of the heads, more fresh and beautiful than the profiles which surpass anything of the same kind in the figures of Masolino at Castiglione. Outside to the right an executioner of slender shape, in an affected attitude, restores his sword to the scabbard after the Queen's execution, whilst her soul is taken by an angel to heaven. Beneath and by the side of the Dispute, St. Catherine stands unhurt between the two revolving wheels which break at the touch of an angel, and bruise the heads of the executioners. Her figure, damaged by time and repair, still possesses some of the purity and simple youthfulness, which are so agreeable in the works of Angelico. The last scene to the right is that in which St. Catherine,

kneeling with joined hands, awaits the executioner's blow in the presence of a guard. A fine type of head, coloured in a bright, rosy, flesh tone, characterises the saint. In the distant landscape angels perform the rite of burial; and in the centre heaven an angel carries the maiden soul to Paradise.

The evangelists and the doctors of the Church in the ceiling are in a bad state. Their long slender forms and draperies are similar to those on the ceilings of Masolino in the baptistery at Castiglione. Half busts of apostles and saints in the vaulting of the entrance arch are damaged like the rest. Outside and above the arch the Virgin receives the visit of the announcing angel, and to the left St. Christopher carries the Saviour across the stream.¹

The general appearance of the paintings in the chapel reveals the genius of a youth wavering in the midst of contradictions and imperfections which naturally mark a first effort. By the side of fine and well-conceived figures there are others of an affected character, of slender or otherwise feeble frame. Indecision may be met in close contact with energy, fire, and passion. Compared with Masolino's work at Castiglione the frescoes of San Clemente exhibit a better study and rendering of form, a more natural delineation of the human features. They have some of the character of Masolino, revealing his influence on a pupil, youthful, promising, but as yet below the level of even the earliest frescoes of the Brancacci chapel. As regards technical treatment no more appropriate remark can be made than that the execution is on the lines of the successive artists who trace their educational descent from Antonio Veneziano to Masolino.² Some heads are very intelligent, but the shadows are more powerful than those of Masolino. The general tone is rosy, light, and perhaps lacking in force. Greater simplicity in the draperies and less festooning place the painter in contrast with Masolino. A truer harmony of architecture and figures,

¹ This is all much damaged. In the key of the arch is a scutcheon surmounted by a cardinal's hat, but the arms are of the seventeenth century.

² The ground at San Clemente is prepared smooth and light, exactly as it was by Masolino. The first painting was a slight water colour, verging to grey in shadow, a yellowish tone in light, the former strengthened with warm fluid glazes, the passages stippled, and the high lights laid thickly on.

particularly in the fresco of the Dispute, some perspective, a certain sense of atmosphere, as in the mode of detaching the form of St. Catherine from that of Maxentius behind her, disclose the dawn of Masaccio's greatness. It is evident from these frescoes that his powers were yet undeveloped, but that he had already studied with favourable results perspective and the nude. The latter, indeed, appears to have been forced powerfully on his attention, perhaps by Masolino, who obviously attached much importance to it; and the admirers of his genius, who contemplate the flesh forms of the Baptism and of our first parents expelled from Paradise at the Brancacci, may regret the loss of a life size study of male and female nude which has disappeared from the Casa Palla Rucellai at Florence. The period when the chapel of San Clemente was decorated, and the person who gave the commissioning for the decoration, are matters of serious controversy amongst antiquarians, and even the authorship of the paintings is still in debate amongst critics, who attribute, what Vasari assigns to Masaccio, to his master, Masolino.¹ We have seen how much the frescoes recall Masolino, yet how difficult it would be to acknowledge Masolino as the painter. An argument of some cogency has been put forward in favour of the latter. It is that Branda Castiglione, who ordered the frescoes of Castiglione di Olona, was cardinal of San Clemente. To this it may be answered that there were two cardinals of San Clemente who wore the hat at the same time—Branda, who was made by John XXIII. in 1411, and Gabriel Condulmer, who was made by Gregory XII. in 1408, and both holding the title till 1431. It may or may not be that Branda gave the commission for the frescoes of San Clemente, and later on ordered the frescoes of Castiglione. But there is no reason why the two commissions should of necessity have been given to the same artist. It seems reasonable, on the other hand, to suppose that Branda might have desired to employ Masaccio at Castiglione, because he had already employed him at

¹ The names of some critics who think Masolino painted the San Clemente frescoes may be given. We note Von Reumont, Lübke, Thausing, Woltmann, and Von Zahn, against whom we quote Woermann and Bode. The true test, after all, is the style and probable date of the frescoes, which, as elucidated in the text, point to Masaccio, and not to Masolino.

Rome; but that at the moment when he hoped to do so Masaccio died, leaving him no option but to choose Masaccio's master, Masolino. It is a coincidence worthy of attention that Masaccio died in the very year of the completion of the collegiate church of Castiglione.¹

Besides the frescoes of the chapel of San Clemente, Masaccio produced at Rome several pictures, one of which was a Virgin of the Snow attended by four saints, another a Pope tracing the foundation of a church in presence of a numerous suite. Vasari, who saw the pictures when he visited the church of Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, was able to remember that he was accompanied on that occasion by Michael Angelo.² He identifies one of the suite as Sigismund of Hungary, and the Pope as Martin V, though Rusutti's mosaic at Santa Maria Maggiore represents the same episode in the Papacy of Liberius. Be this as it may, there is some reason for thinking that these early pieces by Masaccio are identical with pictures now in existence, and preserved in the museum of Naples. One of them represents the Virgin, with her hands joined in prayer, seated on a cloud in a mandorla, filled with angels, and rising to heaven to meet the Eternal, who appears above her in the sky.³ The other is a composition in which a Pope, with the tiara on his head, attended by a clerical following, traces the plan of a church with a hoe in presence of a civil dignitary. The scene is in a court, bounded by

*¹ It is now certain that it was Branda Castiglione who ordered these frescoes. Schmarsow has proved that the original coat of arms on the keystone of the arch was a lion rampant, subsequently transformed into a griffin. The lion rampant was the heraldic badge of Branda Castiglione (see SCHMARSHOW, *op. cit.* iii., p. 12 *et seq.*). The frescoes, therefore, must have been completed between 1411 and 1431. Branda was, as we have seen, a patron of Masolino. But the chief reasons for assigning the frescoes to Masolino are stylistic reasons. We see in them his predilection for the colour yellow, his love of shot colours, as well as some figures that we have already seen at Castiglione. For example, the angel on the arch of the chapel of S. Clemente is identical with the angel on the outside of the Baptistry at Castiglione. It would be difficult to assign these frescoes to any period of Masaccio's life, but if we accept these frescoes as works of Masolino there and accept the suggested date 1428-31 no such difficulties present themselves. These frescoes take their proper place in the gradual development of Masolino's art.

² VASARI, ii., p. 294.

³ To this panel there may have been side pictures with saints, as described by VASARI, *u.s.*, ii., p. 294.

edifices and a portico, behind which a landscape is seen, and Christ and the Virgin Mary appear in a round halo in the sky.

The head and features of Christ in this piece are almost as grand and dignified as are those of Masaccio in the Tribute Money at the Carmine of Florence. The Virgin, on the contrary, is slender, like the figures of the Pope and his suite. The Virgin in the Assumption looks more archaic than any of the persons in the composed picture. But the arrangement of the latter is clever, and there is sufficient variety in the attitudes and faces to make it clear that the painter was an able student of nature, whose knowledge of design was very remarkable. This, with delicate chiselling of the features in the faces and a light scale of tones, would fully justify us in accepting Masaccio as the author, at a time when his style at San Clemente showed reminiscences of that of Masolino.¹

Masaccio must have exchanged his residence at Rome for a residence at Florence some short time before he matriculated in the Florentine guild of barber surgeons in 1422. Later on, in 1427, he made a return of his income and property at Florence, and from this document, which shows that he had security, wages, and many debts, history has gained not only the date of his birth, but the exact condition in which he lived, and the place where he performed his daily labours. His mother had lost her first husband, and was now the widow of Tedesco di Castel San Giovanni. Her prospects in life were not brilliant; of her dowry one hundred florins still remained due. Mona d'Andreuccio di Castel San Giovanni owed her forty florins, and the executors of her second husband sixty florins, as well as the rent of a vineyard in Castel San Giovanni. Beyond these sums in expectancy she possessed not a farthing. On the other hand, Masaccio, who lived with

¹ Naples Museum. The Assumption is No. 24, the Pope tracing the plan is No. 23 of the Naples catalogue. The pictures have been at various times assigned to Tommaso di Stefano (how the name of Tommaso crops up!), Gentile da Fabriano, and Angelico.

* As we have already stated, the same reasons that lead us to conclude that the S. Clemente frescoes are by Masolino make us also give these panels at Naples to that master. It seems probable that two small panels at the Vatican representing the Burial of the Virgin and the Crucifixion, which are in Masolino's manner, formed a part of the series of pictures of S. Maria Maggiore. See SIMON, in *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 382.

her brother Giovanni, born in 1407, and his mother, born in 1382, though he earned six soldi per diem, owed one hundred and two livres, four soldi, to Niccolò di Ser Lapo, a painter, six florins to one Piero Battiloro, and had various articles of property in pledge at the pawnshops of the "Lion" and the "Cow."¹ His assistant Andrea di Giusto received but irregular pay, and claimed in 1427, for salary in arrear, six florins. The family lived in a house of the quarter of Santa Croce, for which they paid ten florins a year, and Tommaso kept one of the shops annexed to the old Badia, built, it is said, by Arnolfo, near the Palazzo del Podestà, for which he paid two florins a year.² The condition of Masaccio was more favourable, according to his own account, than the reality. Niccolò di Ser Lapo, in his schedule of the year 1427, declares that Tommaso di Ser Giovanni owes him two hundred livres, and, in a later declaration of 1430, that sixty-eight livres were still due, which he had no hope of ever receiving, as Tommaso had gone to Rome, had died there, and his brother, Giovanni, pretended that he was not the heir.³

Yet Masaccio did not allow the unfavourable condition of his daily existence to affect his mind or spirits; and were we not assured by Vasari "that he loved solitude and cared as little for himself as for the world in general,"⁴ the peculiar character of his artistic creations would have suggested that he lived for his art solely, and had little thought of anything but the pursuit of those great problems of perfection in art which he had apparently determined to search to their innermost depth, and which, in truth, were, through him, as nearly solved as was possible for a genius of the fifteenth century. According to the admission of the Aretine biographer, the frescoes of the Brancacci chapel were not all executed at one time, for Masaccio interrupted his labours on one

¹ To understand the painful condition of persons obliged to pawn at Florence in the fifteenth century, read the records of Oderigo di Oredi, *Archiv. Storico*, u.s., iv., where Oderigo himself declares that for twenty livres, borrowed for six months at the Presto del Ponte alla Carraia, on a coat, lined with green taffety, he pays four livres, thirteen soldi, or about fifty per cent. interest per annum.

² See the original "Denunzie" in GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 115.

³ See the "Denunzie" of Niccolò di Ser Lapo, for 1427 and 1430, in *Gior. Stor. d. Archiv. Tosc.*, 3rd quarter, 1860, p. 195.

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 289.

occasion at least, when he consented to perpetuate the memory of the consecration of the Carmine by a fresco representing that event. It will be remembered that that ceremony took place on the nineteenth of April, 1422. The probability is therefore that the date of the Brancacci frescoes is to be found in an interval extending from 1423 to 1428, at which time Masaccio ceased to exist. The reader will bear in mind the reasons which favour the opinion that Masolino did not paint any of the frescoes at present in the chapel. This being premised, it would appear that after Masaccio had painted a figure of St. Paul in the bell-room, in order to prove his ability,¹ he adorned the chapel with the following series of subjects, numbered according to their sequence in the annexed plan:—

I. On the right pilaster of the entrance, Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge. Hitherto assigned to Masolino.²

II. Upper course of the wall to the right of the entrance, comprising: (a) St. Peter Healing Tabitha; (b) St. Peter Curing the Cripple at the Gate of the temple. Assigned by Vasari to Masolino.³

III. The upper course of the wall to the left: (c) the Saviour Orders St. Peter to Seek the Tribute in the mouth of a fish; (d) St. Peter's Payment of the Tribute.⁴

IV. On the pilaster to the left of entrance, the Expulsion from Paradise.⁵

V. Upper course of end wall, left of altar, St. Peter's Sermon. Assigned by Vasari to Masolino.⁶

VI. Upper course of end wall, right of altar, St. Peter Administering the Rite of Baptism.⁷

¹ A figure which has since perished (VASARI, ii., p. 294; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 16).

² Not noticed by Vasari, but assigned by GAYE to Masolino (*Carteggio*, ii., p. 472). * It seems to us that this fresco is by Masolino.

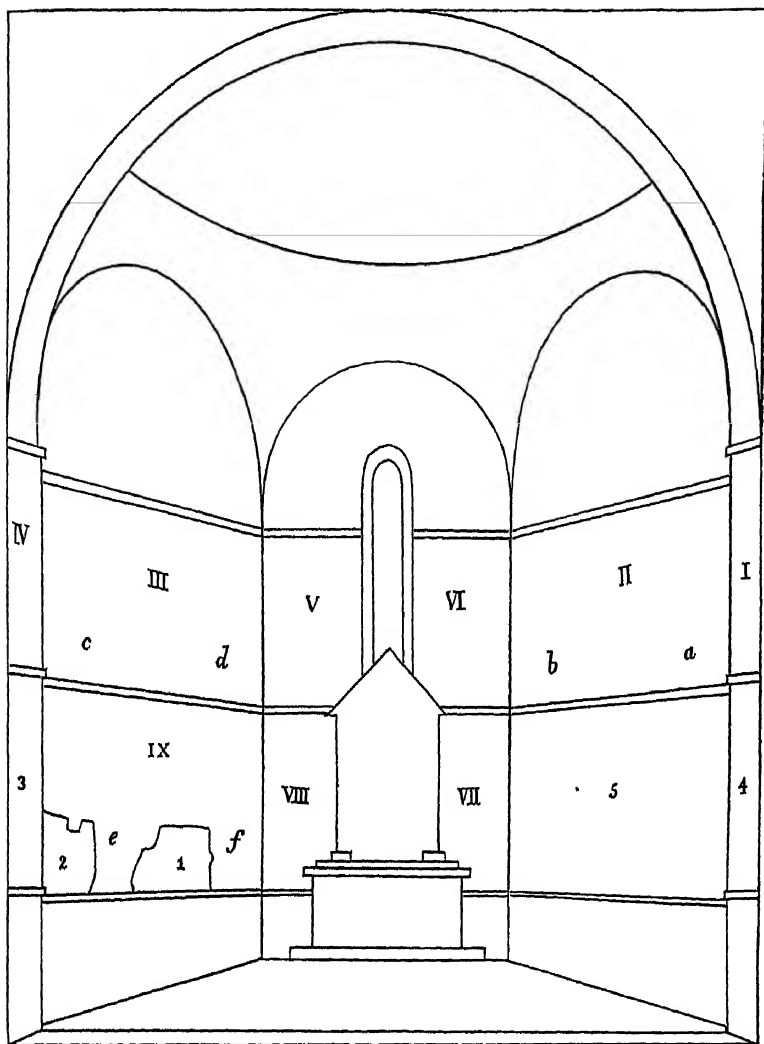
³ VASARI, ii., p. 265, and GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii., p. 472. As we have stated in our notes on Masolino, we believe that Vasari's attributions are correct.

⁴ Given by VASARI to Masaccio (ii., p. 297), but strangely enough by D'Agincourt to Masolino.

⁵ Not noticed by Vasari, but properly assigned to Masaccio by GAYE, *Carteggio*, ii., p. 471.

⁶ VASARI, ii., p. 265. Also by GAYE assigned to Masolino (*Carteggio*, ii., p. 472), but obviously by Masaccio. Dr. WAAGEN (*Treasures*, 8vo, London, Murray, 1854, ii., p. 387) does not hesitate in the opinion that it is by Masaccio. The latest annotators of VASARI give the fresco to Masolino (*vide* iii., p. 190).

⁷ Given by VASARI to Masaccio (ii., p. 298).



PLAN OF THE FRESQUES IN THE BRANCACCI CHAPEL IN THE
CHURCH OF THE CARMINE, FLORENCE

VII. Immediately below the foregoing, St. Peter Distributing Alms to the Poor.¹

VIII. St. Peter and St. John Curing the Sick.²

IX. (e) The Resurrection of the Child, (f) and St. Peter in Cathedra. Partly executed by Filippino Lippi.³

The fresco of Adam and Eve under the Tree of Knowledge was probably the first of the extant series in the Brancacci chapel. The figures at once challenge comparison with those of Castiglione d'Olona; and though it may be admitted that a freer and bolder action mark the opposite fresco of the Expulsion, yet there is greater resemblance between it and the Temptation than between the Temptation and the figures of Masolino. In this first effort of the Brancacci chapel, Masaccio reveals the study of classic statuary. He gives to Adam and Eve fair proportions, a long, but not unnatural shape; yet the lines are not so modulated as to produce supreme elegance; and the heads seem small in contrast with the frames. The run of the contour, the forms of the nude, are not essentially different from those which mark later productions of the series.

Nothing can be finer than the group of men and women by the sick-bed in which Tabitha revives at the bidding of St. Peter. Life and energy mark the group of the cripple and apostles at the gate of the temple and that of the youths in converse behind. No doubt, the latter are reminiscent of the art of Masolino, whether they be considered with reference to the manner in which they move, the character of the draperies, or the soft rotundity of outline in the faces. But Masaccio recalls Masolino, as Raphael in certain works reminds us of Perugino. Those very parts which revive in our memory the figures of Masolino are rendered in a manner which cannot be found at Castiglione; and, whilst it may

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ VASARI, ii., p. 298. Thomas Patch, and Hugford in the *Etruria Pittrice*, Lasinio, and Rosini assign to Masaccio the St. Paul before the Proconsul. But it is as RUMOKR maintains, on sufficient grounds (*Forschungen*, ii., p. 250), and as the style proves, by Filippino. GAYE (*Carteggio*, ii., p. 469) very confidently asserts this against ROSINI, whose defence (*Storia della Pittura Ital.*, ii., p. 281) is inconclusive and baseless.

Francesco Bocchi was the first to assign all the frescoes of the Brancacci to Masaccio. *Vide* Bocchi in RICHIA, x., p. 38.

be granted that they do not altogether exhibit the nobleness and grandeur of others in the chapel, they still harmonise with the remainder of the series, and show more unity and better laws of proportion than were possessed by Masolino. In none of the frescoes of Castiglione is there a background of houses in such a fine style of architecture, or with such subordination of the buildings to the persons before them, as here. Masolino, almost at the same period, made architecture a symbol, and painted houses and arcades into which none of the human beings he represents could enter. Here at last the eye meets something which is the semblance of the reality. Architecture, which at the time of Giotto and up to the dawn of the fifteenth century had been but a subordinate part of ornamentation, was pardonably neglected because second to composition and the development of subject and form; it gained more importance and a more reasonable shape every day after the death of Giotto. Giotto and Antonio Veneziano improved it, but its proper form and place were discovered by Masaccio. Is it necessary to point out that these were acquirements quite beyond those of Masolino? Masaccio alone could have executed this fresco of the Resurrection of Tabitha and its perspective distances.

A masterpiece of composition, and in this respect grand above all others in the chapel, is the fresco of the Tribute, where Christ, at the demand of the tribute-taker who stands before Him, orders Peter to seek it in the mouth of the fish. The disciples stand in front of a house, and a hilly landscape interspersed with trees and bushes represents the country of Capernaum.¹ By the sea-shore to the left, Peter has cast his cloak on the ground and draws the piece from the fish's jaws, whilst to the right, by the porch of the house, he pays it to "him that receives tribute-money."² Masaccio here, in the fullest measure, grasps the maxims which Giotto declared. But, whilst he thus worthily closes a great period, he opens a new one. One hand unites him to Giotto; the other is extended to Raphael. The distribution of the subjects is made exactly on Giotto's principles as exemplified in the resurrection of St. John Evangelist at Santa Croce. Grand and majestic is the

¹ This distance, painted as usual in tempera and not in buon fresco, has suffered.

² Matt. xvii. 24.



CHRIST COMMANDING ST. PETER TO TAKE MONEY FROM THE FISH'S MOUTH FOR THE PAYMENT OF THE TRIBUTE *Alinari, pho.*

BY MASACCIO

From a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine, Florence

youthful Redeemer, whose elastic movement as He addresses Peter is nature itself. Character, readiness of action, and intelligence of expression; firmness of tread and gravity of form, massive breadth of drapery are combined in the neighbouring groups. Nor are these the proportions or frames of humble mortals so much as of men conscious of a mission. The mind of the painter seems to have been abstracted, at the time of production, from all sublunary concerns, like that of Michael Angelo who forgot the world, its cares, and its pleasures, when, with one hand he wielded the chisel, and with the other the hammer. The same spirit and feeling which, in spite of the mutation of time are to be found in the apostles and prophets of the baptistery of Ravenna and in those of Giotto, are visible in those of Masaccio and re-appear afterwards in Raphael. They have all a common principle; because though the sublime and beautiful may vary as regards the mode in which they are produced, in the essentials they are ever alike. In St. Peter, who stoops for the money in the mouth of the fish, a less noble but still forcible action is noticeable, but the attitude and movement of the tribute-taker, who looks at Peter as he prepares to obey the command, is as masterly and natural as is the expression of his face which seems to indicate perfect confidence in the superhuman power of the Saviour. One might indeed conceive, as one looks at the shape and motion of this figure, that it issues from a bas-relief by Ghiberti, or that Donatello inspired those all but plastic forms. As the biographer truly says, Masaccio "trod in the steps of Filippo and Donato."¹ Like all great artists, like Giotto and Orcagna, like Raphael and Michael Angelo, Masaccio studied the three sister-arts of sculpture, architecture, and painting, taking the first for his guide as regards form and relief by light and shade, the second to assist the production of effect by due proportion of edifices. The figure of the tribute-taker further represents intelligence of the perspective of form allied to bold design, and in its motion embodies the laws laid down by Leonardo da Vinci in the sixteenth century. It indicates a double action, that which is in course of execution and its consequence. It is the bond of union between that part of the composition in which Peter starts to obey the Divine

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 289.

command, and the other part in which that command is carried out.

Amongst the apostles on the extreme right of the central group is one with a square head, full locks, and a pointed beard, powerfully built, draped in the grand and massive folds of a red mantle, which displays to full advantage a muscular frame. This apostle is aged about thirty; his features have the individuality of a portrait; and we have here evidently the likeness of Masaccio himself such as Vasari engraved it, although in the transcript the draughtsman seems to have aged him a little. In expression and weight the figure may be said to exhibit the power and vigour dwelling in the face and frame of one capable of executing the grand works of the Brancacci chapel.

In the Expulsion, again, Masaccio foreshadows the art of the sixteenth century, and gives such an impulse to that of his time that Raphael found little to change in the spirit and conception of the subject when he represented it in the Loggia of the Vatican. In both frescoes Adam is exactly the same, Eve slightly altered at Rome by the reversal of the position of the arms. Grief and shame are admirably expressed in the faces, a most natural play of limb and excellent definition of naked form are attained in accordance with the laws of relief; and it is evident that Raphael was so strongly impressed with the beauty of the group and satisfied with its propriety that, as far as the figure of Adam is concerned, he could not find one better or fitter. The angel in the Brancacci indicates, from a cloud above the group, the exit from Paradise, and wields the sword in his right hand; whilst that of Raphael drives Adam out by laying a hand on his shoulder. But Masaccio here again divined all the great rules obeyed in the sixteenth century, exhibiting knowledge of the laws of motion, foreshortening the body, and bathing it in atmosphere, so that it appears to fly. The form of the heavenly messenger, which in its grace and beauty of contour had been left imperfect by Giotto as regards detail, which had been improved and foreshortened by the intuitive sagacity of Orcagna, was brought nearly to perfection by Masaccio, who introduced into it beauty and nobleness of shape, and, to a given amount of perspective which enabled him to improve the truth of the lines,

added distance by atmosphere. It is true he lost some of the severe gravity of the fourteenth century, but he foreshadowed the grace and elegance of modern art, the perfection of plastic form and linear perspective attained by Ghirlandaio, and the supremely fine conceptions of Raphael.

The Sermon of St. Peter is set in a fine landscape of hills. It combines, more than any other fresco in the Brancacci, the grandeur of style which marks the group of philosophers in the school of Athens at Rome and the high principle embodied in the Vision of Ezekiel at the Pitti. St. Peter, in profile, preaching with his right arm aloft, is as fine and characteristic as the crowd of listeners sitting and standing in front of him. The combination of thought and age on a face of a noble cast is wonderfully rendered in the open wrinkled brow of the nearest spectator close to a female in the foreground, who contrasts with him by the soft character of her regular features. Varied movement and attitudes in the rest of the congregation, as well as varied forms of head, a powerful naturalism and imitation of truth similar to that in the figures of the crowd who surround the Baptist in the desert at Castiglione, recall to our memory the creations of Masolino. Yet the superiority of Masaccio in every essential; his power in the expression of the passions, may be admitted at once by those who have studied at the Brancacci and in the Lombard Baptistery. Again, if the listeners are reminiscent of Masolino, the figure of St. Peter is equally so of Raphael; whilst to complete the proof that we have here to deal with Masaccio and with no other, we may compare the Sermon of Peter with the Conception in the Academy of Arts at Florence.¹

Many of the figures—and particularly that of the shivering

* ¹ As we have already stated in our notes on Masolino, we regard the Preaching of St. Peter, the Healing of the Cripple, and the Resurrection of Tabitha as works of that master. The authors themselves recognise a difference between the two groups of frescoes, as does SCHMAROW, who, being unwilling to concede that the frescoes mentioned above are by Masolino, seeks to explain the difference obviously existing between these frescoes and those universally agreed to be by Masaccio by the theory that a sojourn in Rome interrupted the course of his work at the Brancacci chapel and modified his style. See SCHMAROW, *op. cit.*; and for further reasons for accepting VASARI's attributions, see the *Miscellanea d'Arte*, 1903, pp. 164-74.

proselyte in the Baptism, who stands in the right foreground with arms crossed—have suffered from the eruption of salt from the lime of the intonaco; but the nudes are fine. St. Peter, in profile and grave in features, pours water over the naked form of one kneeling in front of him. Muscular developments are more strongly defined here than elsewhere, and in this respect the fresco is the culminating point of the art which found its first expression in the Temptation, its second in the Expulsion. The difference between the nudes of the Temptation and those of the Expulsion is greater than that which distinguishes the Expulsion from the Baptism. Still, they have the same character, the same stature, and they only show how the artist progressed in his studies and labour. None resemble the nudes of Masolino. Here, as Vasari remarks, is modern art and a grand style.¹

Passing onwards to the next fresco, we see St. Peter advancing with St. John, accompanied by a crowd and giving alms: a scene full of truth. Grand in another sense, and remarkable for beautiful freedom of action, is a youthful female with a child in her arms stretching out her hand to receive alms. Her features, which are of noble lines, have lost their freshness in poverty and privation. Her dress is drabbed, and a white cloth covers her head.² To the left is the crowd of beggars, one of whom lies inanimate in the centre of the picture and at Peter's feet.³

Earnestness and truth are combined in the fresco of St. Peter and St. John curing the infirm with their shadows. The former in the centre seems to move forward, accompanied by the latter, and followed by the poor and sick in attitude of prayer or expressing hope and faith in their countenances. Peter is grave and dignified, as Giotto knew so well how to paint him. A cripple on the ground rests his hands on crutches and looks up with anxious desire for restoration to a happier condition. A realistic form and expression, the marks of suffering and pain are inevitable and appropriate; and Masaccio reproduces nature in its ailments, and poverty in its repulsive features, without marring the general

¹ The distance again is a landscape of hills, as in the great Florentines, spacious and of simple lines.

² The lower half of this dress has been repainted.

³ This figure has also been damaged.



ST. PETER BAPTISING

Alinari, pho.

By MASACCIO

From a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine, Florence

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effect of his picture. St. Peter has the gravity and thought which the first Florentine painter knew how to render, and which Masaccio develops almost to the level of the standard upheld by the greatest of Italian artists.¹

The last fresco upon which Masaccio laboured in the Brancacci is devoted to St. Peter in Cathedral and the Resuscitation of a Youth, supposed by Father Tanzini to be Eutychus,² who fell asleep during a sermon preached by St. Paul, and, dropping from a window-sill, lost his life. The subject, according to Vasari, is the "Resurrection of the son of the king by St. Peter and St. Paul,"³ but seems to have been taken from the forty-fourth chapter of the *Golden Legend* entitled "De cathedra sancti Petri."

St. Peter, says the legend, sits on the regal throne because he was the prince of all kings; on the sacerdotal throne, because he was the pastor of all the clergy; on the magisterial throne, because he was the teacher of all Christians. The throne of St. Peter is festively celebrated by the church for four reasons, the first of which is this: When Peter preached at Antioch, Theophilus, Prince of that city, asked him why he subverted the reason of the people. Peter continued to preach, and Theophilus caused him to be imprisoned without food or water. Paul, hearing of his confinement, introduced himself to the Prince as a workman in carving and painting, abode with him, and succeeded in secretly visiting Peter in prison. Food and wine revived the spirits of the prisoner, and Paul interceded with Theophilus, saying that Peter, who could cure the infirm and restore the dead to life, might be more useful as a free man than in chains. Theophilus replied that he did not believe in Peter's miraculous power; for one who could revive the dead could liberate himself. "Tell him, however," he added, "to restore to me my son who has been dead fourteen years, and I shall then give him life and liberty." "Thou hast promised much," said Peter to Paul, "yet is it very easy of accomplishment." And Peter, being led out of prison, prayed for the boy, who at once returned to life. Then Theophilus and all the people of Antioch believed; and they built a glorious church in

¹ In the background to the left is a man corresponding exactly to Vasari's portrait of Masolino. He wears a red barret, is dressed in a mantle, and appears to have reached the age of thirty-five or forty. The portrait of Masolino, given by Vasari, is older than that which he reprints of Masaccio.

² Acts of the Apostles, xx. 9. The miracle here occurs at Troas. In the *Golden Legend* it takes place at Rome.

³ VASARI, ii., p. 298.

the midst of which they reared a splendid throne. Upon this they seated St. Peter.

In the fresco of the Brancacci, Theophilus sits in the opening of a porch to the left, in a court closed by a screen adorned with vases of flowers. With sceptre in hand and numbers of spectators sitting and standing about him, he looks on whilst Peter restores to life the naked boy before him,¹ a decorous and attentive multitude contemplating the miracle. To the right is the throne on which St. Peter sits adorned by three kneeling figures in front and others standing to his right and left.² The central group of this fresco, including the naked boy and the nine spectators behind and to the right, half of the arm and foot of St. Peter, and all but the head of a figure kneeling in wonder at the miracle is by Filippino Lippi.³ His style is easily recognised in these parts as well as in a group of five standing on the extreme left of the fresco, although one of the heads, that of the fourth from the picture's side, shows much of Masaccio's style in the muscular flexibility of the aged features.⁴

Whilst Masaccio thus exhausted all the knowledge he possessed in a scene which required truth of action and individuality of features, he surpassed himself in the production of colour. Nature itself seems reflected in a number of heads on the same plane preserving their proper relative position and surrounded by atmosphere produced on those principles which found their perfection in the works of Correggio. The first years of the fifteenth century thus witnessed the successful production of that harmony of colour, relief, and sense of distance which entitled the painters of the so-called golden age to the admiration of the

¹ At the child's feet a white winding sheet, two death's heads and bones.

² A piece of the foreground is here damaged.

³ These parts are marked in the plan with arabic numbers.

* We shall discuss Filippino's share in these frescoes later on, in the account of Filippino. It may be remarked here that his share in those frescoes assigned to him was probably less than appears at first sight. For instance, it is probable that the fresco of the Raising of the King's Son was entirely sketched out on the wall by Masaccio. See CHIARPELLI, *Pagine d'antica arte fiorentina*, 1906, pp. 101-4.

⁴ This figure, with a head in profile, wears a black cap and shows part of a white garment at the neck.



ST. PETER IN CATHEDRÂ AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE CHILD

By MASACCIO AND FILIPPINO LIPPI

From a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine, Florence

world.¹ The rest of the chapel was completed by Filippino Lippi.

That Masaccio left the work unfinished is evident, as one of the frescoes was in part entrusted to a later artist. That the date of Masaccio's last production is antecedent to 1428 is certain, since records prove that he left Florence and died at Rome about 1429. That Masolino did not paint there in 1427 has already been shown. That he did not before that time paint any of the present frescoes is apparent, since in 1428 he executed works at Castiglione which reveal a weaker style. We may inquire whether he might not have worked at the Brancacci after Masaccio; but this is contrary to tradition and experience.

All that remains to be noticed respecting these frescoes is, that they were painted on surfaces of excessive smoothness, with incomparable speed, as may be judged from the size and small numbers of the jointings, and, according to technical methods, easy to define. Masaccio used transparent colours, through which the white intonaco is visible, particularly in the pictures of the upper courses. In the lower series his facility is more apparent than elsewhere, the flesh lights having more body, the shadows being more powerfully glazed, and the execution generally more careful. Being nearer the spectator, they are less massively and broadly treated as regards the distribution of light and shade, more finished in the detail than the upper, and this for the obvious reason, that those parts which are nearer the eye require greater minuteness. The whole was evidently prepared in spacious masses on the white ground. Colours of a fluid texture were swept over the surface with great speed and dexterity. The broad shadows were glazed with warm and transparent tones and blended through the semitones into equally broad lights. The flesh tints thus gained a bright though soft and golden tinge, and relief was obtained by the perfect juxtaposition of tints rather than by careful minuteness of stippling. Strong harmonious colour and

¹ Pity that such a splendid example of Masaccio's art should be obscured by the injudicious removal of the architectural ornaments that once inclosed it, and that, instead of the painted pilasters which framed it, the ceiling and sides should be whitewashed. The Brancacci chapel is illustrated in the series of the Arundel Society's publications.

atmosphere supplied the deficiencies which still existed in linear perspective, added to the severe grandeur of the composition, and gave to figures which trod the ground firmly and boldly an additional charm. The cast of Masaccio's drapery corresponds with the grandeur of the figures and the beauty of their colour. Whilst the play of light and shade in them is correct and massive, the folds are simple and easy. Their colours are in the proper keys for securing harmony, substantial and copious, subordinate to each other, and full of that uniting vapour which is so admirable in Titian, Andrea del Sarto, and Correggio.

As a colourist in fresco Masaccio maintained the superiority of his countrymen. Whilst he rivalled Giotto in soft lightness and transparency of massive tones, he advanced far beyond him in the combination of strong lights and shadows. Harmonious and powerful colour is to painting what harmonious lines are to composition. Colour first arrests the eye, and leads us insensibly to admire the arrangement and distribution of the lines. Both qualities are necessary to complete satisfaction; and both were possessed by the Florentines, who thus enjoyed the laws of composition and the language by which its beauties are conveyed to the senses. In Masaccio, who improved upon Antonio Veneziano and Masolino, we have the full development of these powers, which to a less extent existed in Giotto and Orcagna. At a later time Andrea del Sarto showed in the frescoes of the Santissima Annunziata and the Cenacolo outside Florence that he had brought colouring in fresco to perfect vigour, transparency, and harmony. The utmost that could be attained in giving air and relief together was achieved by Correggio, who followed the same process in fresco as that employed by Masaccio at the Brancacci. He sketched out his figures with the same breadth of modelling on a white ground; he increased the vigour of his tints by glazing the shadows with warm colours, and laying on the high lights with broad touches; and he covered the whole with the golden tone which produces so much charm. Yet if the paintings of Masaccio are at so high a standard as to place him above the level of his contemporaries, and demonstrate the abundance of life and strength in his artistic organisation, it cannot be denied that in certain respects he might have read pernicious lessons to

his followers, who might have forgotten to respect severe scientific laws in the attempt to imitate his boldness. Masaccio's art, had it been continued by others where he left it, might have ceased to be under control, like the art of Michael Angelo's followers. In design, independently of other branches of the craft, Masaccio was bold. The movement of his figures is ready and significant;¹ but, like Giotto, he neglects the detail of outline in the feet and articulations. The intention is always apparent, but the plastic definition often absent. Masaccio had not the perfect intelligence of the detail of form. He possessed all the perspective knowledge of his time, but the science was still imperfect, and though he used it such as it was, and intuitively added much that had not been scientifically ascertained, he did not so far surpass his age as to embody all the art of a later period. It was fortunate in the meantime that men of inferior genius like Paolo Uccello lived by his side, whose love of science led them to give up everything to the study of mathematical problems. Following in that path, Andrea Mantegna and Piero della Francesca achieved all that men of that age could accomplish. Art was kept by men of this stamp within the bounds which Masaccio might have swept away or cleared by a spring. As it was he almost went beyond the limits of sound principles. He pleases by atmosphere and colour, but his lines do not bear the test of compass and rule. Paolo Uccello and Mantegna do not put the same spell on those who contemplate their works. They have no atmosphere and no colour; but they also contributed their great and undeniable share to the perfection of later years. The former, indeed, enabled Ghirlandaio to grasp the laws of perspective, and apply them on grand and general principles.² As a colourist inferior to Masaccio, Ghirlandaio helped Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael to give rotundity and perfect linear perspective to the human frame. A sculptor in painting, he chiselled out form, and gave it classic perfection.³

¹ Choose as an example the Saviour ordering Peter to take the tribute from the mouth of the fish. The hand has a Giottesque contour in intention, and the detail is wanting.

² That he diligently studied Masaccio is asserted by VASARI, ii., p. 299.

³ See for an example his "Appearance of the Angel to Zachariah," at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, which is only surpassed by Raphael.

Amongst the commissions undertaken and finished, whilst the Brancacci frescoes were still on hand, one was in the Carmine, and represented the consecration of that monastery. It was painted, says the biographer, in terra verde above the door leading from the cloister into the inner parts of the building, and reproduced the procession exactly as it went forth,¹ comprising Brunelleschi, Donatello, Masolino, Antonio (? Michele) Brancacci,² Niccolò da Uzzano, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, Bartolommeo Valori, and Lorenzo Ridolfi.³ The gate, the hall porter with the keys in his hand, the perspective of the procession with the diminishing proportion of the figures, the care with which the stature of the various persons delineated was distinguished, pleased the fastidious eye of Vasari. Unfortunately for succeeding generations the picture was whitewashed. Since then a fresco, apparently by Masaccio, has been recently recovered in the cloister. But the piece, thus restored to public view, is executed in colours. It represents part of a procession.

On the right stands a monk in profile holding aloft a cross in front of an altar. Behind and to the spectator's left of that figure two friars face each other in converse, and, further on in the same direction, are vestiges of a group comprising one in a red cap and yellow mantle. Above these vestiges is the outline of a block of houses in good perspective, in front of which a monk, of obese character with a laughing face, seems to have just confessed a younger brother friar. To the left of this again is a headless figure. Concealed behind an elevation of the ground, in rear of the confessing group, are half-figures of two friars, one of whom in profile looks on, whilst a second gesticulates and points with both hands downward. In the distance a church and a landscape of hills are massively depicted in tempera.

This is a fine relic, untouched by restorers, with all the qualities which have already been described as characteristic of Masaccio. It illustrates the broad manner in which he laid in his masses,

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 295.

* ² Not Michele, but Felice Brancacci, who was the founder of the chapel. See MILANESI in the notes to VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., p. 296.

³ The annotators of VASARI (ii., p. 296, note 2) say, that Lorenzo Ridolfi was twice Ambassador of Florence, at Venice, the first time in 1402, the second time in 1425. Yet if he was present at the consecration which took place in 1422, they must be in error, or else Masaccio, painting in 1425, may have introduced him into the procession, though he had not been there.

fluid shadows, simple and flowing draperies, decorous action and fine architecture.

Vasari describes Fra Filippo Lippi as having painted in terra verde a fresco of a pope confirming the rules of the Carmelites near the consecration by Masaccio in the cloister of the Carmine.¹ Fra Filippo, however, can hardly be the author of this painting, which is quite in the style of Masaccio. One of the finest remnants of Masaccio, however, has been recovered in the present century. It represents the Trinity, and was executed by him within the screen of the great nave of Santa Maria Novella at Florence over an Adoration of the Magi finished at an earlier period.² Vasari, after he had given Masaccio appropriate commendation for the talent displayed in this capital piece,³ was not generous enough to refuse a commission for covering it over with a picture of his own, and it was only brought to light recently. Placed in the hands of restorers immediately afterwards, it was sawn away from the wall, and carried to an empty space on the side of the church to the right of the entrance, where it may now be seen in a very damaged state.⁴

In front of a flight of steps leading up into an arched passage, the vaulting of which is ornamented with a panelling in good perspective, the Eternal appears, supporting on His hands a crucifix, upon which the Redeemer hangs with both feet superposed. The Dove hovers over the Saviour's head. The Virgin and St. John the Evangelist stand at each side in front of the steps, the former closing her veil with her right hand and indicating the Saviour, the latter looking up and wringing his hands. In front of these again kneel the donors, a man of middle age in profile and a female in a similar position.⁵

Vasari exhausts the usual sentences of panegyric in a notice of

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 613.

² In the fourteenth century, as appears from a remnant of the Angel Announcing to the Shepherds, to the right of the pilaster supporting the architrave beneath which the perspective arch opens.

³ VASARI, ii., p. 291.

⁴ The fresco was fairly preserved with the exception of some parts in the painted architecture, some parts on the foreground occupied by the portraits, and the blue dress of the Eternal. The remarks in the text apply to the condition of the fresco when first discovered. Its present aspect is that of a wall darkened with a coat of grease.

⁵ Probably the two donors belong to the Cardoni family as in the chapel in which the fresco formerly was, there was an altar erected by Fra Lorenzo Cardoni and dedicated to the Trinity. See WOOD-BROWN, *The Dominican Church of S. Maria Novella*, 1902, p. 118.

the beauties that distinguished the perspective distance of an Annunciation by Masaccio in San Niccolò di là d'Arno.¹ He is almost equally enthusiastic in describing the perspective of the arch in the Trinity at Santa Maria Novella, where the painter, taking a high centre of vision, exhibits a knowledge of the science almost equal to that of the sixteenth century. The damaged figure of the Eternal, with its blue dress, originally painted in tempera and now almost colourless, is remarkable for a head of muscular development and of regular plastic shape. His feet, resting on the steps, are foreshortened with consummate art. The Redeemer's narrow head, crowned with thorns, bends slightly, and is somewhat small for the frame. Its type is Giottesque. Copious hair and a long straight beard encircle features impressed with realistic marks of pain, and the muscles of the face are developed in the style of those which distinguish Donatello and Ghiberti's sculpture. The forms, in their natural appearance, disclose the effort to imitate nature rather than present an ideal of the Saviour; and thus, whilst Masaccio pursued the reality, he lost the noble harmony of outline and proportion peculiar to Giotto.² Striving to add what the great Florentine neglected, he lost the quality for which the latter was remarkable. So in Giotto form was sacrificed to the idea. In Masaccio the idea was sacrificed to form, and that is the grand difference between the artists who mark the birth of two great periods.

Power and energy are combined in the figure and face of the Virgin, who is represented as a matron of fifty with the remains of fine but hard features clouded by suffering. A depth of feeling almost akin to that of Raphael marks, on the other hand, the upraised head of the youthful St. John, whose movement and expression reveal calm but intense passion. The kneeling patron to the left, in a red cap and mantle, prays in quiet repose, and like the female opposite to him, seems to have reached the age of fifty. The face of the latter is masculine and healthy, and her features strongly marked.³ As in the nude of the Saviour the anatomical

¹ Which has perished (VASARI, ii., p. 290).

² See the remarks *infra* on the crucified Saviour of Giotto and the crucified Peter in the sacristy of San Pietro at Rome.

³ An under cap painted in black is partly covered by the blue drapery of a mantle veiling the head.

study conspicuous in the frame is not carried out in the extremities, and these only keep their place by the natural truth of their movement, so in the portraits of the donors a bold neglect is allied to a realism equal to that of Michael Angelo. In the face of the female, a fulness of life, a striking boldness of outline and of glance prevail, which recall the best efforts of Donatello.¹

Technically Masaccio introduced into painting the same tools almost as the sculptor. His drawing here is more than usually rapid; for it seems to have been traced with the speed of lightning on the wall, appearing to be rather an instant creation of the will than a deliberate work of the hand. He concentrated his attention principally on the development of the movement of the figure, and hence, no doubt, was led like Giotto to neglect the more minute detail that was of little use for significance. Having given the general movement he searched out the forms of the head, in order that it might be imbued with life, character, and expression. The care with which he chose the instruments of his trade is a proof that his skill as a manipulator did not disdain every facility that might minister to success.

A less perfect and probably earlier example of Masaccio's manner than those hitherto noticed is the Conception painted originally for the church of Sant' Ambrogio and now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.² In arrangement exactly similar

¹ As usual, Masaccio painted on a surface of the utmost smoothness; and having carried his design upon it, he prepared the whole in a light transparent and fluid grey verging on green, using for this purpose a flat and broad tool. He modelled the masses of shadow as a sculptor would his preparatory clay, seconding the rounding of the various flesh forms and planes by the direction of the sweep given to his brush, and making use of the white ground for the light. He then covered the whole of the parts in light with a warm transparent glaze, and thus produced the local flesh tone, beneath which the ground never altogether disappeared. A few touches of body colour served to bring out the highest lights. The shadows were strengthened with warm yellowish transparent glazes, the tinge of lips and cheeks with a ruddy flush of colour. Stippling he seldom or never used, except in small and very secondary parts. An instance of the rapidity and ease of hand which he possessed may be shown by the following example. The hair of St. John's and the Redeemer's head was broken in with great breadth and with brushes of various size, in sweeps following the form previously determined on. A few lines defined the direction of the locks as in the St. John. In the Saviour a flat brush, parted so as to give a quadruple stroke, was used to define the waves.

"La Trinità è per mano di Tho. Masacci;" says ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 13.

² VASARI, ii., p. 290. The altarpiece is now catalogued under No. 70.

to one by Agnolo Gaddi outside Prato, its colour is altered to a sad red flesh tone, and a general flatness arises from the superabundance of varnish laid on in past times or from restoring, but it recalls the style of the Temptation, of the Healing of Tabitha, or of the least advanced portions of the Sermon of St. Peter at the Brancacci chapel. It is therefore a picture reminiscent of the manner of Masolino, being composed of figures of regular forms, but of soft features, and marked by draperies in a slight degree festooned. The nude of the infant Saviour and the angels are not as finely drawn as the figures in the frescoes at the Brancacci usually assigned to Masolino. The proportions and outlines of the long and slender forms are yet distinctly those of Masaccio; and this altarpiece alone suffices to illustrate the remarks which have already been made as to the authorship of the Brancacci frescoes. The Berlin Museum recently became possessed of three panels which originally belonged to the Capponi collection at Florence.¹ One represents the Epiphany and answers the de-

*¹ These three panels, to which has recently been added a fourth, certainly are portions of the predella of the great altarpiece that Masaccio executed for the church of the Carmine at Pisa. Vasari (ii, p. 292) describes the picture thus: “. . . in una tavola . . . è una Nostra Donna col Figliuolo, ed a' piedi sono alcuni angioletti che suonano. . . . Mettono in mezzo la nostra donna, San Pietro, San Giovanni Battista, San Giuliano e San Niccolò. . . . Sotto nella predella sono di figure piccole storie della vita di quei Santi e nel mezzo i tre Magi. . . . E sopra . . . sono in più quadri molti santi intorno a un Crucifisso.” We will complete what remains to be said about the predella before speaking of the other parts of the altarpiece. Three of the predella panels are described by the authors. A fourth panel contains a scene from the life of S. Giuliano and a scene from the life of S. Niccolò. By a strange coincidence this panel was found by Dr. Schottmüller, one of the assistant directors at Berlin, in a shop in Florence. Not until the picture reached Berlin was it discovered that it was a part of the predella of the Carmine altarpiece. It was Baron von Hadeln, another assistant director, who realised that the panel was a part of the predella of the Carmine altarpiece. Baron von Hadeln rightly assigns this panel to Andrea di Giusto, Masaccio's assistant in this work. (See D. VON HADELN, in the *Monatshfte f. Kunstw.*, 1908, Heft 9, pp. 785-9. Also in regard to Andrea, see *postea*, pp. 63, 64.) Another portion of the altarpiece is also in the Berlin Museum—the Four Saints formerly in the Butler collection. These Four Saints formed part of the decoration of the frame, and are by the master's own hand. In the Museo Civico at Pisa is a St. Paul belonging to this altarpiece, and a St. Andrew is in the collection of Count Lanckoróński at Vienna. A Crucifixion in the Naples Museum was originally above the central panel of the altarpiece. Mr. Berenson claims that a Madonna and Child with four angels in the collection of the Rev. A. F. Sutton of

scription of Vasari, who, speaking of a predella in the Carmine of Pisa, describes the kings making their offering in a composition remarkable for its display of horses, and people in the court dress of the time.¹ Two other panels of the series represent the Crucifixion of St. Peter and the Beheading of the Baptist. This beautiful set of predella pictures is quite in Masaccio's style, admirably drawn, and bright with a richness of colour quite unusual. The gallery of the Uffizi boasts of two portraits ascribed to Masaccio. One wearing a cap is supposed to be his own, full face, life size, and youthful.² It is not like the alleged portrait at the Brancacci, and has not so much the character of a work by Masaccio as of one by Filippino Lippi. It is painted with much skill and ease and with slight colour on a tile. The second picture of the Uffizi³ is also on tile, and represents an aged man, at three quarters with a white grey barret and dress. The size is that of nature. Though a fine portrait, it has not the breadth and ease of hand of Masaccio, and is possibly by Sandro Botticelli.⁴

Brant Broughton is the central panel of the altarpiece. It is probable that this conclusion is right; but before it can win general acceptance it must be proved not only that this panel is by Masaccio, but that it is actually the missing central panel of this particular altarpiece. Stylistic considerations make it somewhat difficult to accept the attribution to Masaccio; and, although it is a work of considerable charm, this picture has not quite the quality of the undisputed works of the master. The Child certainly recalls Masaccio; but in the Madonna and Child we seem to see northern influences, and are reminded of the works of the painters of the Marches. It is difficult, too, to believe that this Madonna is the central panel of the Pisa altarpiece, as its measurements do not agree with those of the predella panel of the Adoration of the Magi that was below the central panel, or with the Crucifixion that was above it. (See BERENSON, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, No. 5, p. 81.)

Masaccio was commissioned to paint this altarpiece of the Carmine by the notary Giuliano di Colino degli Scarsi on February 19, 1426. Masaccio began the altarpiece immediately, but on December 26 of the same year it was still unfinished. (See TANFANI-CENTOFANTI, in the *Miscellanea d'Arte*, 1903, pp. 188 and 189.) The whole altarpiece had disappeared from the church of the Carmine in 1750. But there are grounds for believing that portions of it were kept in the convent.

¹ Berlin Museum, Nos. 58A and 58B. Wood, each 0·21 h. by 0·61 (VASARI, iii. p. 157). The catalogue of pictures ascribed to Masaccio comprises No. 58c, a representation of a mother after the birth of her child; small, 0·56 in diameter.

² No. 286 of the Uffizi Catalogue.

³ No. 1167 of the Catalogue.

⁴ In the Corsini gallery (No. 536) a half length portrait of a man, full face, with a ring in his hand, in red cap and dress, is assigned to Masaccio. It recalls Botticelli to a certain extent, as well as the Pollaiuoli, both of whom, as we shall see, had some

An inexplicable mystery rests on the last days of Masaccio. His disappearance from Florence gave rise to whispered rumours of poison.¹ Nobody knew what had become of him. He had left the finest fresco of the Brancacci chapel incomplete, and abandoned Florence, his mother, and brother. They had to answer for debts which he had been unable to pay. His creditor Niccolò di Ser Lapo still claimed sixty-eight lire. The office of the Catasto again presented its income-tax paper; but in vain. That paper still exists in part from Masaccio's form of 1427, but sent back with words in a strange hand, "Diceci ò morto in Roma."² Niccolò di Ser Lapo in his return for 1430, adds that Masaccio still owes him money, "but he died in Rome, and I don't know whether I shall ever get any part of my debt, as his brother says he is not the heir."³

Of Masaccio's remaining works, noticed by Vasari at Florence, none have been preserved.⁴

A Virgin enthroned, of life size, with the infant Saviour in the act of Benediction, is preserved in the chapel to the right of the choir in the church of San Giovanni, and is shown as one of the productions of Masaccio's youth. It is, however, a feeble work by one of his imitators.

A figure of St. Paul holding a sword on gold ground in the gallery of features in common. A distinct feature here is a hard surface of tempera and treatment more nearly related to that of the Pollaiuoli than to that of Botticelli.

Another portrait, assigned to Masaccio at the Leuchtenberg gallery (No. 53) in St. Petersburg, has the characteristics of that above described. It is a bust three quarters to the left representing a man of austere face in a black cap and vest on green ground. The forms are marked and angular; but the panel is injured by stippling and retouching. In the Torrigiani gallery at Florence an injured portrait, said to be of Masaccio himself, three quarters, in a red cap and black dress, life size bust, is ascribed to Masaccio, but displays the character of Filippino in the frescoes of the Brancacci. If this be the portrait noted by Cinelli (*vide* Commentary to VASARI, iii., p. 482), it has no likeness to that of the Uffizi.

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 300. ² *Vide Fior. Stor. d. Arch. Tosc., v.s.*, third quarter 1860.

³ *Ibid.* "Rede di Tommaso di Ser Giovanni dipintore den dare lire sessanta otto. Questo Tommaso morì a Roma non so se mai n'arò alcuna cosa, peichè dico il fratello non essere rede."

⁴ We seek in vain for his picture of Christ Casting out a Devil, once in the house of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (VASARI, ii., p. 290), of St. Ivo of Britain, once on a pilaster of the Badia (*ibid.*), of the Nativity between St. Catherine and St. Julian with scenes from the lives of these saints in the predella, formerly in Santa Maria Maggiore (*ibid.*, p. 292). None of the pictures in the Carmine of Pisa are in existence (*ibid.*), but a St. Paul, seen to the knees, with the sword and book, in the Academy of Pisa, is, as it were, a Masaccio in miniature and probably the work of a pupil.

Pisa looks like a school picture in the manner of Masolino and Masaccio, and is, perhaps, by Andrea di Giusto, of whom a few words presently.

St. Zenobius Restoring a Child to Life, lately in private hands at Rome, and engraved in D'Agincourt as by Masaccio, is a clever little picture by Pesello (see *postea*).

A male portrait of a member of the Panichi family at Florence is exhibited under Masaccio's name in the gallery of Modena (No. 26), but is clearly not by the master; yet another of a prelate, in the gallery of Stuttgart, is in the manner of Pontormo; a third (bust of life size in a red cap and vest) in the collection of the Oxford University seems worthy of Granacci, as he came from the school of Ghirlandaio (two profiles assigned to Masaccio here are by Gentile Bellini). Poor likewise are the so-called Masaccios at Munich.¹ A portrait of a man is by a third-rate Siennese of the fifteenth century. A miracle of St. Anthony of Padua is by Francesco di Giorgio. Masaccio's own portrait, half-figure in a red cap, is not like that of the Carmine, and is a bad picture by a follower of the school of the Pollaiuoli.

St. Bernard, once in the Berlin gallery, is not in the style of Masaccio, but is by some weak Florentine painter of his time. A good portrait in the National Gallery once catalogued as Masaccio by himself (No. 626 bust seen in front), in a red cap and brownish dress, seems to be by Botticelli or Filippino Lippi. The execution and a certain peculiarity of colour and air might lead us to prefer Botticelli.

At Manchester, a female portrait in possession of W. D. Lowe, Esq. of Locko Park, Derbyshire (No. 60), was assigned to Masaccio, but displays the style of Sebastian Mainardi. No. 67 in the same hands, a male portrait, is more in the manner of D. Ghirlandaio.²

The Novice taking Orders, once in the Stirling collection at Glentyan under the name of Masaccio, has been noted in the works of Lorenzo Monaco.³

The Liverpool gallery has also two pictures, a St. Lawrence and an Adoration of the Magi, falsely assigned to the master. Other works without a claim to his name abound in various galleries and may be passed over. We only note in passing the dead Christ with the Marys and Nicodemus at the Escorial as a picture erroneously assigned to Masaccio.⁴

*¹ No longer ascribed to Masaccio in the official catalogue.

*² See RICHTER, *Catalogue of Pictures at Locko Park, Derby*, Nos. 60 and 67. Both these pictures are now generally given to Mainardi. There are replicas of them in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin.

*³ See *antea*, vol. i., p. 302, note 1.

*⁴ By Masaccio is a fresco in the Oratorio of Montemarciano near S. Giovanni, Valdarno, representing the Madonna enthroned between St. John the Baptist and

Masaccio's brother Giovanni survived him. After years spent at Florence he appeared at last in the income-tax office (1467), and described himself as married. In 1470 he adds: "Giovanni, aged sixty-three, is infirm. Mona Tita, my wife, is aged forty. Tommaso, my son, who left me seventeen years ago is, if alive, thirty-two years of age. Antonio Francesco, aged twenty-eight, lives with me, likewise his wife La Nanina, aged twenty. With me, also, are La Tancia, my daughter, aged sixteen; Benedetto, my son, aged thirteen; Leonardo, my son, aged ten; La Francischa, my daughter, aged six; L'Alessandra, my daughter, aged four."

A return for 1480 exists, but in one of 1498 Giovanni's wife describes herself as "Mona Titta donna fù di Giovanni."¹

Giovanni left no name as an artist. Masaccio's ill-paid assistant, Andrea di Giusto, is recorded as the painter of an altarpiece at Santa Lucia of Florence in 1436.² His son Giusto

St. Michael. The Madonna and Child resemble those of the picture of S. Ambrogio. But as the figure of St. John owes a great deal to the influence of Masolino, this is one of the early works of the master. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 580) is a tondo, a "desco da parto," by Masaccio. A portrait of a young man in Mrs. Gardner's collection at Boston is given to Masaccio by Mr. BERENSON. (*Russ. d'Arte*, 1908, p. 85.) The editor has not seen this picture. But the attribution to Masaccio is not generally accepted.

¹ GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 115.

*² Andrea di Giusto died on September 2, 1450. By Milanese he is identified with Andrea da Firenze, who painted a signed altarpiece formerly at S. Margherita at Cortona and now in the Magazine of the Uffizi, and who was also the author of a picture of the Conversion of Constantine in the Casa Ramelli at Gubbio and a Madonna and Saints at Prato, as well as an Assumption of the Virgin in the Fuller-Maitland collection (see *postea*, p. 95), which was for a long time regarded as a work of Fra Angelico. The picture from Cortona bears the inscription: ANDREAS DE FLORENTIA MCCCXXXVII. The Gubbio panel bears the inscription: HOC OPUS FECIT ANDREAS DE FLORENTIA. The Madonna and Child at Prato was painted for the convent of S. Bartolommeo della Sacca in 1435. I also give to Andrea two works hitherto not attributed to him, both in private collections in London; a fine panel representing three saints, in Mr. F. E. Sidney's collection, and a charming predella picture, a Nativity, in Sir Henry Howorth's collection. These two pictures represent the two periods of Andrea di Giusto's artistic career. Sir Henry Howorth's picture represents his Masaccio period, and Mr. Sidney's picture represents his Angelico period. We have already seen that, in his earlier period, Andrea painted part of the predella of Masaccio's Carmine altarpiece. (See *antea*, p. 60, note 1.) For the facts relating to Andrea, see MILANESI, in VASARI, iii., p. 55. Sirén seeks to show that certain other works are by Andrea, including three frescoes—a Martyrdom and Burial of St. Stephen, and a Marriage of the Virgin in the chapel of the Assumption in the Pieve of Prato. (See *L'Arte*, 1904, p. 342.)

di Andrea di Giusto laboured as a painter with Neri di Bicci and Benozzo Gozzoli.¹

The annotators of Vasari, discussing the question of the authorship of the Virgin of the Snow and its companion picture of the Pope tracing the foundations of Santa Maria Maggiore in the museum of Naples, put forward the name of Arcangelo di Cola of Camerino as that of an artist who might be accepted as the painter of those pieces. They state on the authority of records that this painter was free of the Florentine guild, and employed at Florence in 1421 by Ilarione de' Bardi, and that he went to Rome in May, 1422, to work for Pope Martin V. after painting an altarpiece for a chapel in the Pieve of Empoli. The name of Arcangelo is on the roll of the Florentine guild under the date of 1421.² But it was difficult to assign pictures to an artist of whom no genuine examples were known to exist. This difficulty is removed by the discovery of two panels in possession of Mrs. Longland, exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1880. One of these panels is a small full-length figure of the Virgin seated on a throne holding the Child, who stands on her lap, attended by three angels on either side of the throne. The second panel is Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelists, the Magdalen, and two other women. Both pieces being of the same size, no doubt originally formed a diptych. On the back of the Crucifixion is written: "D. CAMERINO ARCANGELVS PINSIT." The style is that of a Giottesque with some touch of the Sienese, but not on the level of the author of the Neapolitan Virgin of the Snow.³

With some justice he attributes to Andrea a panel representing three saints, St. Zenobius, St. Francis, and St. Anthony of Padua, which is in the Jarves collection at Yale. (See *The Burlington Magazine*, 1909, Feb., p. 326.) Mr. William Rankin ascribes this picture to the late Bicci school. If by Andrea, this panel is of his later Angelico period.

¹ Vide GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., pp. 211, 212, and *postea*, p. 353.

² Roll in GUALANDI, *at lit.*, u.s., vi., p. 176, and VASARI, ii., pp. 66 and 294.

³ Nos. 221 and 224 of Exhibition of Works of Old Masters, 1880. W., 12 inches high by 7. The Crucifixion is on gold ground.

* Until the year 1889, when it was destroyed by fire, there was a picture by Arcangelo di Cola, a signed and dated work, in the church of Monastero dell' Isola, at Cessapalombo, in the Marche. This picture was reproduced by A. VENTURI in *L'Arte* (1910, v., p. 377 *et seq.*), who also gives to the master a triptych in the Vatican Gallery, and, with considerable probability, the frescoes of the Oratorio di Riofreddo.

CHAPTER IV

FRATE GIOVANNI DA FIESOLE, CALLED THE ANGELICO

VICCHIO, a village in the Tuscan province of Mugello, is the birthplace of Guido, better known as Angelico. Guido, the son of Pietro, was born in 1387 and wandered in early life to Florence, where he probably became an apprentice to Gherardo Starnina.¹ As early as 1407 he joined the Dominicans of Fiesole, and in 1408 took the cowl as brother Giovanni Petri de Mugello of Vicchio.²

Doubts have been expressed whether, previous to entering the order, Fra Giovanni learnt the rudiments of painting from a lay master. Vasari thought that he began in the monkish school of miniature, adding nevertheless that he might have remained a layman, and earned whatever he pleased in a profession which he practised in his youth with consummate skill.³ It must be

*¹ There is no documentary evidence to support this theory. Nor is it possible to prove it by the methods of scientific criticism, as there is no single work existing that can with certainty be given to Starnina.

*² Vicchio, between Dicomano and Borgo San Sepolcro, is not far from Vespignano, the birthplace of Giotto. Compare as authorities BALDINUCCI, *u.s.*, v., p. 160; VASARI, ed. Sansoni, ii., pp. 505, 517; and *Cronica Univ. S. Dom. de Prædici* in MARCHESE, *u.s.*, i., p. 207. The Chronicle of San Domenico of Fiesole correctly gives the date of Fra Giovanni's entrance into the Dominican Order, from which we correct Vasari's statement that Fiesole was the artist's birthplace, and Brocchi's statement (*Descr. della Prov. del Mugello*, Flor., p. 14) that Fra Giovanni was born 1390.

* Vicchio was a small fortified town. It still preserves a great part of the hexagon of its rubble wall, its two massive gateways east and west, and some fragments of its flanking towers. The Mugello is the name given to the upper and middle part of the valley of the Sievo.

* VASARI, ii., p. 506; MARCHESE, i., p. 203; LANZI, *u.s.*, i., p. 77; and ROMINI, ii., part ii., p. 254. But MARCHESE admits that no miniatures of Fra Giovanni exist (ii., p. 159). According to Vasari, also, the first works of Fra Giovanni were in the

remembered that Fiesole is close to Florence, and that boys were apprenticed in their tenderest years. Fra Giovanni, from the first, reveals his connection with the school of Masolino. His earliest works are to be found in Cortona. But this is not in contradiction with other facts which connect the master with San Domenico of Fiesole.

That edifice was founded in 1406 by the Beato Giovanni di Domenico Bacchini.¹ There, in 1407, a year after the foundation, the son of Peter of Vicchio presented himself to the superior, Father Marco di Venezia, and was admitted into the order.² But the convent was unfinished. It was served by fourteen monks only, and had as yet no novitiate; Fra Giovanni was therefore sent to Cortona under the care of the master of the novices, the Beato Lorenzo di Ripafratta.³ In 1408 Guido professed. If he took the vows at Cortona, he may have remained there for upwards of ten years.⁴ If he came to Fiesole he must have shared the vicissitudes of those who had their abode there. A schism broke out in 1409, and the brethren of San Domenico of Fiesole became involved in a struggle with the archbishop of Florence. Rather than acknowledge Pope Alexander V.,⁵ who

Certosa at Florence, where he painted in the choir an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child between St. Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Zenobius, and St. Benedict, with a predella containing scenes from the lives of those saints. This picture and two others in the transept—the Coronation of the Virgin and a Madonna between two saints—are not known to exist (VASARI, iv., pp. 25, 26).

¹ RICHEA, *Chiese*, u.s., vii., p. 118; MARCHESE, i., p. 206. The founders of the convent of Fiesole came from Cortona.

* Giovanni Dominici was the leader of a great movement in the Church. He had a threefold aim: (1) to reform his own order; (2) to check those tendencies of the Early Renaissance which seemed to him to be dangerous to religion and morals; (3) to bring about a great religious revival in Italy. The best recent account of Giovanni Dominici is by M. Henri Cochin in a review of Father Remi Coulon's edition of the *Lucula Noctis* of Giovanni Dominici. See the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, liii., fasc. 157, pp. 89–100.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁴ MARCHESE thinks he came to Fiesole, but does not say whether before or after the vows (i., p. 207). He admits the possibility, however, that he may have remained at Cortona (note to i., p. 209).

⁵ Fra Tommaso di Fermo, the general of the Dominicans, had sworn obedience to Alexander V., but the reformed Dominicans of Fiesole would not follow his example (MARCHESE, u.s., i., p. 208).

had been elected by the Council of Pisa (1409), they abandoned their convent and retired to Foligno, where they placed themselves under the protection of Colino de' Trinci and Bishop Federico de' Franzi.¹ Here they spent five years in hired quarters. Driven out by the plague in 1414, they withdrew to Cortona, where they resided till 1418.² It is obvious that during his novitiate Fra Giovanni had no leisure to cultivate painting and that, if he followed the wanderings of the Fesulan friars, he must have encountered serious difficulties in the pursuit of art, difficulties of no common order for learners, if it be assumed that he was a learner after assuming the cowl. It might, however, be natural to expect that some works of Giovanni or his master should exist at Foligno if he practised there, but not a single work by Fra Giovanni or his precursors is to be found in Foligno. The influence of Angelico's school is evident in Montefalco, where Benozzo Gozzoli left a great example of his powers, and in the works of Pietro Antonio da Foligno, who left a name at the close of the fifteenth century by following Benozzo's manner.³ But this does not affect Giovanni's early career; and it is best to assume that his first years of monastic life were spent at Cortona, where miniaturists may have existed, although, as before remarked, Fra Giovanni could have learnt but little from them.⁴ Everything tends to confirm the belief that Fra Giovanni was already an artist when he joined the Dominicans. His works at Cortona, which are still numerous, have the freshness of youth, in so far as we can judge from the masterpieces of one who preserved freshness to the last; and but one fresco remains there which appears to have been executed at a late period. This is in a lunette outside the portal of the church of San Domenico,

¹ RICHA, *Chiese*, etc., vii., p. 119. MARCHESI (i., p. 209) calls the bishop of Foligno Frezzi. He was a Dominican.

² MARCHESI, i., pp. 218, 225.

³ St. Thomas receiving the Girdle from the Virgin (not, as Marchesi supposes, an Annunciation), a picture from San Francesco of Montefalco, now in the museum of San Giov. Laterano at Rome, was long assigned to Angelico, but is now admitted to be by Benozzo Gozzoli. (* This picture is now in the Vatican Gallery.)

⁴ Yet PADRE MARCHESI insists (i., p. 212) that Fra Giovanni painted at Foligno. He can only mention as of that time an altarpiece in San Domenico of Perugia (see *postea*), and says he cannot state that Angelico painted anything for the convent at Foligno, or for others of Umbria (i., p. 217).

where the Virgin and Child are represented between St. Dominic and St. Peter in adoration, with the four Evangelists in the vaulting.¹ It appears from a bull of Eugenius IV., dated the 13th of February, 1438, that the church of San Domenico of Cortona was then in course of construction. Fra Giovanni therefore must have painted this lunette long after his return to Fiesole, where he lived from 1418 to 1436.² The only absence of the artist from that place, or from Florence, was made when he proceeded to Rome in 1447,³ and it may be assumed that this particular fresco, which is hastily handled, was painted as he journeyed to that capital. All other works at Cortona obviously bear the stamp of an earlier time.

In considering these, and indeed all the master's creations, it is apparent that he was guided from first to last by great religious ardour and intensity of feeling. His character has been given with such rare felicity in this respect by Vasari that the sketch deserves repetition.

"The life of this really angelic father was devoted to the service of God, the benefit of the world and duty towards his neighbour. Virtue so great and remarkable should not and could not descend on anyone of a life less holy than that of Fra Giovanni; for those who labour at things ecclesiastical and holy must needs be ecclesiastics and saints. . . . He was of simple and pious manners; and it is an example of his goodness that, when Pope Nicolas V. asked him to breakfast, he had scruples against tasting meat without the prior's permission, forgetting the authority of the pontiff in such matters. He shunned the worldly in all things, and, during his pure and simple life, was such a friend to the poor that I think his soul must now be in heaven. He painted incessantly; but never would lay his hand to any subject not saintly. He might have had wealth, but he scorned it, and used to say that true riches are to be found in contentment. He might have ruled over many, but would not, saying that obedience was easier and less liable to error. He might have enjoyed dignities amongst his brethren and beyond. He disdained them, affirming that he sought for none other than might be

¹ This fresco is almost ruined by exposure.

² It is satisfactorily shown (*vide* MARCHESI) that from 1418 to 1436 Fra Giovanni remained at Fiesole, that in 1436 he came to San Marco at Florence.

³ There is no proof that Fra Giovanni did not leave Fiesole and Florence except in 1447. The evidence of the master's works seems to point the other way.

consistent with a successful avoidance of hell, and the attainment of Paradise. And, in truth, what dignity can compare with that which all religious, nay, all men in general, are bound to seek, and which consists in God and a virtuous life? Humane and sober, he lived chastely, avoiding the snares of the world, and he was wont to say that the pursuit of art required rest and a life of holy thoughts; that he who illustrates the acts of Christ should be with Christ. He was never known to indulge in anger with his brethren, a great, and in my opinion, all but unattainable quality; and he never admonished but with a smile. With incredible kindness he would tell those who sought his works that, if they settled with the prior, he should not fail. In fact, this father, whom no one can too much praise, was in all his dealings and arguments modest and humble, and in his works easy and pious. The saints whom he depicted had more of the air and semblance of saints than any produced by others. He never retouched or altered anything he had once finished, but left it as it had turned out, the will of God being that it should be so. Some go so far as to say that Fra Giovanni never would have touched a brush, had he not first humbled himself in prayer. He never represented the crucified Saviour without having his cheeks bathed in tears; and hence one may judge from the features and attitudes of his figures the perfection of his grand and sincere belief in the Christian faith."¹

The art of Fra Giovanni, or, as he may now be called, Angelico, was inspired and inborn. But there is a material and practical part in the frame of every painter, whether priest or layman; and this, in Angelico, was not derived essentially from the practice of a mere miniaturist. Exquisite care and finish were invariably lavished on his work, and this is a feature usual in miniaturists;

¹ VASARI, ii., pp. 518-20. MARCHESI (i., p. 199) wonders where Vasari found all the facts he narrates respecting the Angelico, and concludes that he had them from Fra Eustachio, a miniature painter of San Marco at Florence, who is known to have assisted the Aretine in the notices for his first edition.

* Vasari's portrait of Fra Angelico was, without doubt, derived from the Piagnoni of S. Marco, who cherished all stories relating to that saintly triad of the reformed Dominicans of S. Marco, Beato Angelico, Sant' Antonino, and Savonarola. No doubt this narrative is true in the main, but it tells only half the truth. It shows us that side of Fra Angelico's nature that appealed to simple friars. Fra Angelico was a saint, but he was also an artist with a keen interest in his art and in the great artistic movements of his time, ever watchful, too, for material for his pictures in the moving pageant about him as well as in the world of nature. (See DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, second edition, pp. 2-11.)

but it was one of the least talents which he possessed. His language in art, being the best suited to the development of religious feeling, was beyond measure simple; but, though he neglected many of the mechanical advantages of his profession, his execution was never out of harmony with the grandeur of his composition. In his peculiar way he was an extraordinary genius, and as great in one sense as Masaccio was in another. Between him and Lorenzo Monaco there was that connection which might arise from a community of thought and of condition. Religious feeling, and what modern critics have called mysticism, were common to Lorenzo and to Traini, and were more marked in Angelico. Two monks like the Camaldole and the Dominican might labour in common and exhibit the same bent of mind without necessarily standing in the relation of master and pupil to each other. Greater, indeed, and far more likely to exist was that relation between Angelico and Masolino. The latter, at Castiglione, displays the same spirit as Angelico, not merely in composition, but in delicacy of treatment and slenderness of form; not only in light and liquid colour, but in technical methods of execution. In both we trace the mode of painting on smooth surfaces with faint shadows and fluid tints. In both the architecture is light and pretty, but defective in perspective, and out of proportion with the figures; the draperies are cast in the same form, though improved to grandeur and breadth by Angelico. The same type and mould are given to the angels; and those of the Baptism of Castiglione rival in calm religious expression and features, in slenderness, or graceful bend and in feminine softness, those of the Dominican. There is, in fact, a common system of distribution, thought, and expression in Masolino and in Angelico; similar defects in similar methods. The dates of their birth show that they were all but contemporaries. If Masolino issued from the school which arose under Antonio Veneziano, Angelico did the same. If Masolino is the pupil of Starnina, Angelico may not only have learnt something from the former, but from the latter also.¹ But Angelico did not confine himself to the study of one

¹ BALDINUCCI, indeed, affirms (v., p. 158) that Fra Giovanni's painting in fresco clearly shows him to be a pupil of Gherardo Starnina. Baldinucci might have seen some frescoes of the latter, which is not given to anyone in the present century.

master; he observed and meditated the examples of the past. We may consider a man of his stamp living the life of an honest monk, and making everything subordinate to his religion, to have had a mind open, not merely to impressions conveyed by precept, but to impressions arising from the study of great models produced in bygone times. As such the frescoes of Orcagna in the Strozzi chapel at Florence probably exercised an influence on him greater than those of Giotto himself.¹ The works of Orcagna are, indeed, of that soft, elegant, and yet grave style, which might win approval from Angelico; and we may trace in the development of his genius the forms, types, and character of the earlier Florentine. The slender and graceful proportion of the figures in the frescoes of the Strozzi chapel, their decorous attitudes, and their noble draperies, find their counterpart in Angelico, who expends on them an additional amount of exquisite taste, though he hardly rivals them in grandeur or severity. Precision in the definition of form, design, are in both artists. Orcagna's clear scale of colour is only flatter and less relieved by light and shade than Angelico's. Orcagna was vigorously Giottesque, Angelico nearer to an exquisite ideal. We may therefore conclude that Masolino gave Angelico the artistical and practical element. Orcagna's example acted on the peculiar bent of his mind; and, in his own genius, he found the inspiration which helped him to the end by the simplest and straightest path.²

Technically, Angelico may be said to close the Giottesque period more properly than Masaccio, being a man who never changed,³ unless we accept as a change the substitution of real

¹ Padre Domenico da Corella, prior of Santa Maria Novella in 1483, wrote a poem in heroic verse, in which the following occurs:—

"Angelicus pictor quam finxerat ante, Johannes
Nomine, non Jotto, non Cimabove minor."

So Fra Giovanni was already the Angelico thirty years after his death. *Ibid* Note A, in MARCHESI, i., p. 199.

*² Fra Angelico also owed a great deal to the miniaturists of the Camaldolese convent of S. Maria degli Angeli, and yet more to sculptors and architects of the new movement, such as Donatello and Michelozzo.

*³ It is not true to say that Fra Angelico never changed. In all his work we see a gradual development in his figures as well as in his backgrounds. Under the influence of Masaccio, he acquires more and more skill in rendering the human form. The artist who painted the S. Lorenzo Giving Alms had travelled very far since he had painted the Cortona Annunciation.

for conventional backgrounds to pictures. At Rome, where he displayed all his powers, as Masaccio exhibited them at the Carmine, his architecture is much improved; and in a fresco, in which St. Peter gives the communion to St. Stephen, he produces a distance of buildings proportioned to the size of the figures. It is probable that Masaccio's example was of influence in this change. In other respects this would be less true. Masaccio's forms were more sculptural, his colour more powerful, his idea of relief more complete than Angelico's. His figures have the grandeur which the Italians call "terrible." Drapery is massive, perspective bold, atmosphere almost perfect; but muscular form goes before dignity and religious decorum. Angelico is the reverse of all this, all softness and resignation, religious calm and confidence; and grace supplies the place of force. The harmony of his lines in composition is equal to that of Giotto, superior to that of Masaccio, and coincident with that is a soft melody of tone, without strong contrasts of balanced light and shade or pure primaries. Every part, in fact, contributes to that unity of tenderness, inspiration, and religious feeling which mark his pictures, and which are such as no one man had ever succeeded in combining. A sublime idea, and the means of manifesting it, were the gift of the friar of Fiesole.

Here, again, we may recapitulate. Giotto was the chief in whom all elements of progress were centred. Orcagna tempered the sternness of Giotto's simplicity by softness and delicacy. Masaccio perfected the prose, Angelico the mystic poetry of art.

The frescoes of the convent of San Domenico at Cortona, which were probably the first executed by Fra Giovanni, perished when the convent was destroyed during the French occupation;¹ but, besides the lunette above the portal of the church of San Domenico already described, a Virgin and Child, between angels and saints, decorated the high altar of that edifice,² and is still preserved there; whilst an altarpiece representing the Annunciation, resting on a pediment adorned with scenes from the Virgin's life, once the ornament of some chapel, has been since transferred into the

¹ MARCHESI, *u.s.*, i., p. 219.

* ² This altarpiece is not above the high altar. It is in the chapel, for which it was originally painted, to the south of the high altar.

Oratorio del Gesù, also at Cortona.¹ At the same time the predella of the altarpiece, still in San Domenico, has also been taken to the Oratorio del Gesù.² Both the altarpieces of Cortona, combining as they do all the talents of Angelico, may of themselves convince us that the painter was taught in the Florentine school. In the altarpiece of San Domenico the Virgin, enthroned between St. John the Baptist³ and St. Matthew to the right, St. Mary Magdalen and St. John the Evangelist to the left, holds the infant Saviour standing on her knee. The four guardian angels stand in pairs in the rear of the throne, grasping their tribute of flowers. The pinnacles are adorned with a crucified Saviour and the figures of the grieving Virgin and St. John, whilst in medallions at the base of the central one, the angel and Virgin Annunciate are depicted. In the predella of this altarpiece,⁴ which combines all the freshness and religious feeling peculiar to the master, the scenes from St. Dominic's life are finely given, and still preserve their original beauty. With manifest power Angelico repeats many of the scenes which Traini had already depicted in the altarpiece of Pisa, and Fra Guglielmo had carved on the ark of Bologna.⁵ The Annunciation, a familiar theme, charms the eye by the simplicity and grace of its figures, the candour of the faces, and the playful innocence of the action

*¹ The editor has endeavoured to show elsewhere that the Annunciation of Cortona was painted about 1424, the Madonna of S. Domenico at Cortona about 1435. (See DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, 2nd edition, pp. 38-46, and 53, 59, and 164, note 1.)

*² The predella of the Annunciation contains one compartment illustrating a scene from the life of St. Dominic. This piece may have been originally in some other predella.

* This scene represents the appearance of the Virgin to the Beato Reginaldo d'Orleans. There is, therefore, no ground for supposing that it belongs to another predella.

*³ This, as usual in Angelico, is the finest of all his types.

*⁴ Now in the Oratorio del Gesù.

*⁵ The Birth of St. Dominic, the Vision of Innocent III., and the Crumbling Lateran Saved from Falling by St. Dominic, the Meeting of St. Dominic and St. Francis, the Vision of Peter and Paul, the Dispute with the Albigenses, and Miracle of the Books, the Resurrection of the Youth Napoleon, the Death of St. Dominic, the Brethren Fed by Angels, and St. Thomas Aquinas.

* There are grounds for believing that this altarpiece was executed at the order of Niccolò di Angiolo Cecchi. (See DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 163, 164.)

and attitudes. The Virgin, in a portico, sitting on a chair, has dropped the book on her knee, and acknowledges the presence of the angel and of the dove which hovers over her, by gracefully bending forward on her seat and crossing her hands on her bosom. Her action is not essentially different from that of the annunciate Virgins painted later for San Marco¹ and Santa Maria Novella² at Florence; but her face and form are more youthful and spirited. In that of Santa Maria Novella, religious sentiment is more felt, whilst in that of San Marco, where the hair falls back on her shoulders, a heavenly inspiration and the simplicity of candour beam in the face. Gabriel runs eager and graceful into the portico, pointing with a finger of the right hand towards the Virgin,³ and with the left, which is extended in the same direction, indicates heaven. This simple gesticulation, which is that of an angelic nature, admirably tells its tale, and one almost fancies that the monk heard ringing in his ears those beautiful lines of Dante:—

“L’Angel che venne in terra col decreto
Della molt’ anni lagrimata pace,
Ch’ aperse il ciel dal suo lungo divieto,
Dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace,
Quivi intagliato in un atto soave,
Che non sembrava imagine che tace.”

And the spectator might add with the poet:—

“Giurato si saria ch’ ei dicesse Ave.”⁴

Perfect form and contour, unity of thought and conception in the figure, illustrate the genius of Angelico. In the distance, “and because the Incarnation is essentially bound to the story of our progenitors,”⁵ the angel expels Adam and Eve from Paradise. In the two Annunciations of Santa Maria Novella and San Marco, the angels are also beautiful; but in the latter Gabriel bends alighting, and is still supported by his wings—this is perhaps respectfully—before the Virgin, and holds his arms crossed on his breast as he advances, whilst in the former he pauses before

¹ Fresco.

² Wood. * The Annunciation of S. Maria Novella, now in the National Gallery (No. 1,406), is a school picture.

³ The wings of the angel have a profusion of gold in them.

⁴ *Purgatorio*, x., 34–40.

⁵ MARCHESI, *u.s.*, i., p. 223.

the most noble embodiment of the angelic ideal ever produced by Fra Giovanni.

The pediment of the Annunciation at Santa Maria del Gesù of Cortona, with its scenes from the life of the Virgin, is most pleasant to contemplate; but it would take more space than we can command to examine the numerous subjects separately; and it may be sufficient to say that they are most exquisite examples of the master.¹

A third Annunciation which Vasari once admired in San Domenico of Fiesole, and which subsequently found its way into Spain, is that which not long since was purchased for the Madrid Museum from the Carmelites of the Spanish capital. It is the picture which was bought in 1611 for the Duke of Lerma by the Duke Mario Farnese, and is almost a counterpart of that of the Oratorio del Gesù at Cortona, showing the Virgin receiving the heavenly messenger in a portico, and, in a garden to the left, Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise. In the predella of the altarpiece are also the Marriage of the Virgin, the Visitation, the Nativity, Circumcision, and Death of the Virgin.²

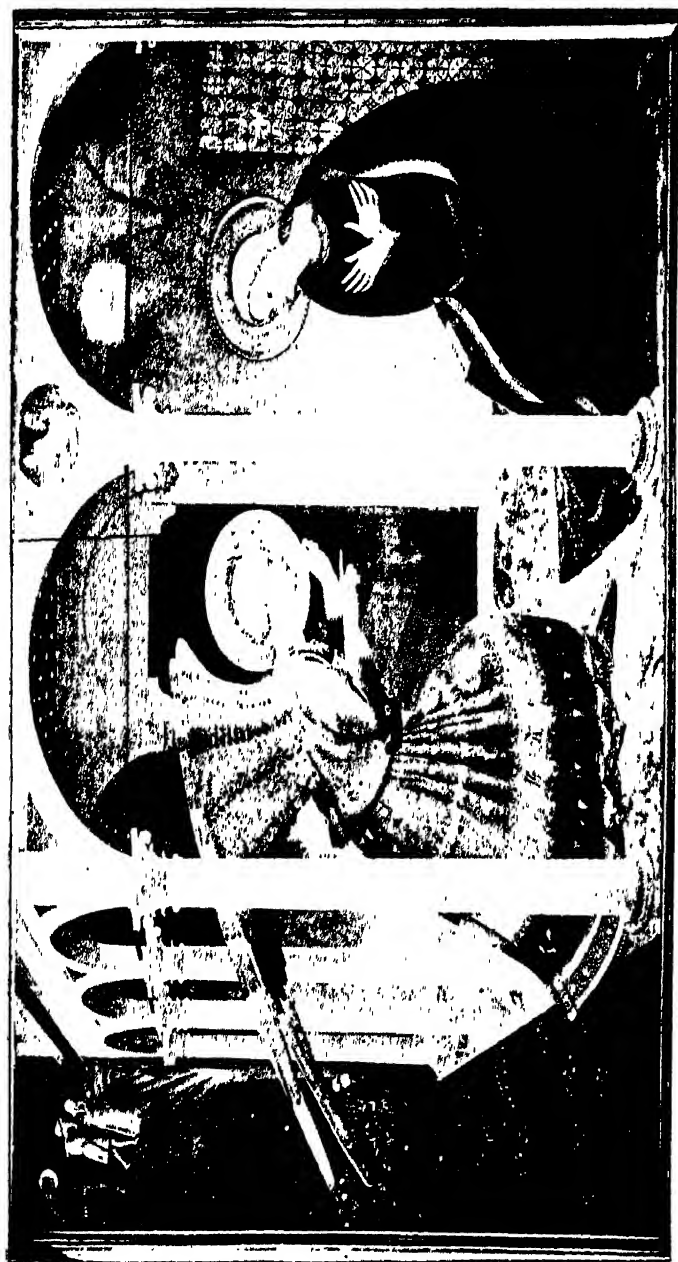
Of the same period and equally fine is the Madonna with Saints of San Domenico at Perugia.³ The four figures of St. John the

¹ Two charming half lengths of the Virgin and Angel Gabriel on gold ground, quite in the spirit of those at Cortona, were once in the Hamilton Palace collection near Glasgow. The gold grounds are overpainted with blue.

² Madrid Museum, No. 14; wood, 1·92 m. high by 1·92. The figures are nearly of life size; but the panel has been seriously injured by a vertical split which runs down the whole figure of the angel. The surfaces, too, are injured by abrasion. When this picture was sold, Duke Mario Farnese caused a copy to be made, which is probably that now preserved in the Franciscan convent church of Montecarlo, near San Giovanni di Valdarno. Compare VASARI, ii, p. 510, note 2; and MARCHESI, i, pp. 230 and 400.

* The Annunciation at S. Giovanni Valdarno, which was published several years ago by Alinari, is held by many to be an original picture. The editor has not seen it, but he is informed by Dr. G. de Nicola that it is an original work of Fra Angelico. See POGGI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909, No. 2, pp. 130-2.

³ Executed for the chapel of San Niccolò of the Guidalotti, now in Cappella Sant' Orsola. [* This picture is now in the Perugia Gallery.] It represents the Virgin enthroned holding the naked infant Saviour erect, between St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine (right), St. Dominic and St. Nicholas (left). Two angels with flowers stand at the Virgin's side, and three vases of roses stand at the foot of the throne. Part of the Virgin's head and neck and her blue mantle are damaged and repainted, as well as part along the left side of the throne. The dresses of St. Dominic and St. Catherine are likewise damaged.



THE ANNUNCIATION
BY FRA ANGELICO

From an altarpiece in the Oratorio del Gesù, Contona

Baptist, St. Catherine, St. Dominic, and St. Nicholas are admirable, and the first, especially, of surpassing beauty. Time has been most destructive, however, in dealing with the altarpiece, of which the Madonna formed the centre, and the saints the sides. A number of figures forming the courses of the pilasters are in the public gallery at Perugia, and are all more or less damaged.¹

So far Angelico's labours at Cortona may be traced, and no further; for, though it is clear that a man of his power and gifts must have done much more than now remains in a city which was apparently his residence during many years, records of his stay or journals of his avocations have not been discovered.² His departure from Cortona was determined by the successful negotiations of the Dominicans for the resumption of their old residence at Fiesole;³ and it is believed that Fra Giovanni was among those who joined the community shortly after its re-establishment near Florence in 1418.⁴ "There, as a brother of his order poetically relates, he gathered in abundance the flowers of art which he seemed to have plucked from Paradise, reserving for the pleasant hill of Fiesole the gayest and the best scented. There, in a period of corruption, of pagan doctrine, of infamous policy, of schisms and of heresies, he shut himself up within a world of his own, which he peopled with heroes and saints, with whom he conversed,

¹ St. Peter Martyr (damaged), S. Buonaventura, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Thomas Aquinas, S. Romoaldo (colour in part fallen off), St. Gregory (fine and well preserved), St. Lawrence (almost colourless), St. Catherine, are entire figures. The rest are seen to the knee only, and are: St. John the Evangelist, St. Stephen, St. Peter and St. Paul (almost colourless). Two central medallions with the Angel and Virgin Annunciate were, no doubt, once at the angles of the base of the central triangular pinnacle. With the exception of the dress of the Virgin, from which the tone has fallen, these figures are in fair condition. Of the pediment, two parts containing the Birth, the Sermon, and a Miracle of St. Nicholas are in the Vatican at Rome (each wood, 0·63 m. high by 0·33). [* Also at the Vatican are two other scenes of the same predella representing other miracles of St. Nicholas.] One remaining part, containing the Rescue of the Three Youths and the Funeral of St. Nicholas, is still above the door of the sacristy at San Domenico in Perugia. [* These panels are now in the Perugia Gallery.]

² As we have already said, the Annunciation of Cortona was probably not painted until some years after Fra Angelico's residence at Cortona.

³ The Bishop of Fiesole claimed and got 100 ducats for the grant of the convent to the Dominicans in 1418 (MARCHESE, i., p. 225).

⁴ MARCHESE, *u.s.*, i., p. 226.

prayed, and wept by turns."¹ Eighteen years were spent by him at Fiesole, yet of these eighteen years how little is known and how little can be told! But there perhaps, in the vicinity of Florence, he might renew acquaintance with Masolino, Masaccio, and the masterpieces of Florentine art. That he followed the example of all the best Italian painters of that and future times, and that he studied the frescoes of the Brancacci is affirmed by Vasari, and may be easily believed.² Of his works at this period one at least is known with certainty. After painting in 1432 an Annunciation for Sant' Alessandro of Brescia,³ he executed for the corporation of the Linaiuoli in 1433 a tabernacle now at the Uffizi, representing the life-size Virgin and Child enthroned, and twelve angels in the cornice, which are of surpassing beauty.⁴ No other picture of the master so thoroughly shows how great the influence of Orcagna had been in the expansion of Angelico's style, and this is equally apparent in the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Mark, and St. Peter and St. Mark on the wings, and in the exquisite predella pieces representing the Epiphany, St. Peter Preaching before St. Mark, and St. Mark's martyrdom.

It is generally supposed also that Fra Giovanni sent from Fiesole the thirty-five panels which were originally preserved in the plate cupboards of the Santissima Annunziata at Florence,⁵ and are now in the Academy of Fine Arts.⁶ These panels had been commissioned of Angelico by Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, and represented scenes from the life of the Saviour. Many of them are worthy of special attention, particularly the Flight into Egypt, which is a simple Giottesque composition, and a Burial of the Saviour in the spirit of Giotto. A Resurrection of Lazarus, however, is feebler, though still Giottesque; and three panels of the first series (under No. 233): the Marriage of Cana, the Baptism,

¹ *Ibid.*, i., pp. 226, 227.

² VASARI, ii., p. 299.

³ See *postea*, p. 94 n.

⁴ This altarpiece is now No. 17 at the Uffizi. A note of the expenses for the woodwork, etc., dated July 11th, 1433, was published by GUALANDI in *Memorie Italiane risguardanti le belle Arti* (Bologna, 1843), Ser. iv., No. 139, p. 109. *Vide* also MARCHESI, i., p. 235.

⁵ It is more probable that these panels were sent from Rome about the year 1448, the year in which, according to Dei, Piero de' Medici spent large sums in beautifying the chapel of the Madonna of the Annunziata.

⁶ Under Nos. 233-7 and 252-4, Academy Catalogue (VASARI, ii., p. 511).

and the Transfiguration are not by the master.¹ The poorest of all those by Angelico is the Massacre of the Innocents.² Frescoes and altarpieces were also produced not only in San Domenico, but in other churches of Fiesole. As these, however, have been much damaged, and there is no certainty as to the period of their execution, more interest attaches to the works which were finished at San Marco of Florence to which we shall now proceed.³

Cosimo de' Medici had returned from exile to Florence. Through his influence, Martin V. had been induced to concede that the Dominicans should be put in possession of a convent hitherto belonging to the friars of St. Sylvester;⁴ and in 1436, Pope Eugenius IV. was present at the festival of installation in the monastery of San Marco.⁵ Cosimo caused the edifice to be rebuilt by Michelozzo Michelozzi,⁶ a library was constructed and the church was renewed. The convent was partly erected in 1437, the choir in 1439, and the whole church was consecrated in 1442.⁷ Whilst the architects and masons were busy, Angelico (1438)⁸ undertook to paint an altarpiece for the choir⁹ representing the Virgin enthroned with the infant Saviour adored by the kneeling figures of St. Cosimo and St. Damian. At her sides were (left) St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Peter, (right) St. Mark, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Lawrence. The introduction of St. Cosimo and St. Damian was intended as a graceful flattery to the family of the Medici who had been profuse in their gifts to the order; and the pediment of the altarpiece was devoted to the lives of those

*¹ These are works of the young Alesso Baldovinetti. (See DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, p. 109 n.)

*² Not all of these small panels are by Fra Angelico's own hand, some of them are by his pupils; but D'ANCONA certainly errs in giving the execution of all of them to Zanobi Strozzi. (See *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 81 *et seq.*)

*³ When Angelico came to Florence in 1436, Masaccio was dead, Brunelleschi was raising the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore, Ghiberti was still at work at the gates, and Donatello flourished as a sculptor.

*⁴ St. Mark was occupied by the Silvestrines as early as 1299. See RICHA, vii., pp. 114, 116, and 117.

*⁵ *Annal. conv. S. Marci de Flor.* MSS. Fol. 1-2, in MARCHESI, i., p. 244; RICHA, vii., p. 117. *⁶ RICHA, vii., p. 122; VASARI, ii., pp. 440, 441.

*⁷ RICHA, *u.s.*, vii., p. 123; *Cron. of San Marco* in MARCHESI, *u.s.*, i., p. 245; VASARI says 1452, ii., p. 441.

*⁸ This date is approximate. The more probable date is 1439.

*⁹ Annals in MARCHESI, *u.s.*, i., p. 247.

martyrs. But altarpiece and pediment have long been parted.¹ The former, rubbed down and deprived of colour, is in the Academy of Arts and serves at best to illustrate the method pursued by Angelico, whose original preparation is everywhere visible. The pediment was dislocated and scattered, so that it would be difficult to judge its original form.²

¹ Already in Richa's time, the altarpiece had been taken from the high altar and hung in the passage to the sacristy. *Vide* RICHIA, vii., p. 143.

² For instance, two scenes from the life of St. Cosimo and St. Damian, once belonging to the altarpiece of San Marco form part of a predella in the Academy of Arts at Florence. These are numbered 257 and 258. In the first St. Cosimo and St. Damian cut off the leg of a sick man and substitute for it that of a healthy negro, whilst in the second the martyrdom of the two saints and their three brothers is presented. Signor Valentini at Rome lately owned a portion of a pediment somewhat damaged by retouching in which this martyrdom is again represented, and the testimony of Professor Benvenuti goes to show that this panel once had a place in the church of San Marco at Florence, that from thence it had passed to the Academy of Arts and been exchanged for a design by another master. Thence it fell into the hands of Signor Niccola Tacchinardi and from his into those of Signor Valentini. The same martyrdom, again, in the same shape was to be found in the gallery Ugo Baldi at Florence. In the gallery of Munich three predella scenes represent, first: (No. 990), St. Cosimo and St. Damian, and the three brothers bound and thrown from a rock but saved by angels; whilst in the foreground Lysias the judge is delivered of two devils by the intercession of the saints. Second: (No. 991), St. Cosimo and St. Damian crucified and the three brothers about to be stoned. Third: (No. 989), St. Cosimo and St. Damian with their three brothers before the judge Lysias. Professor Luigi Scotti testifies that these three panels by Angelico were in San Marco of Florence, and that he restored them in 1817. It is difficult, indeed, to choose amidst them all which belonged to the pediment of the great altarpiece of San Marco. Father Marchese says (i., pp. 248-50) that a part of it was placed on the altar of San Luca of the Cappella de' Pittori in the cloisters of the Santissima Annunziata; that Nos. 257 and 258 of the Academy of Arts are of the series. He adds that in San Marco before the abolition of the convents of Florence there were seven small panels in the Farmacia adorned with scenes from the lives of St. Cosimo, St. Damian, and their brethren, and one representing the Deposition of Christ. The annals of the convent only notice one altarpiece by him, but the pictures of Munich and a fourth there also, representing the Deposition (No. 992), are doubtless those which were formerly in the Farmacia. (A fifth picture, falsely assigned to Angelico, at Munich No. 998, represents Christ in a glory of angels.) In addition to all these pictures, the Academy of Arts possesses an entire pediment (No. 243, Acad. Cat.), representing six scenes from the lives of St. Cosimo and St. Damian, undoubtedly by Angelico, and once in the chapel of St. Luke of the convent of the Santissima Annunziata. Two small panels with scenes of these saints' lives were once in the collection of Count Pourtales in Paris, Nos. 1 and 3, the latter much damaged, and not to be attributed on any grounds to Angelico.

* Besides the two panels at the Florence Academy and the three panels at

After the completion of the altarpiece, and probably before the convent had been finished, Fra Giovanni began to adorn its walls with frescoes.

So much has been written respecting these works, and their character has been so frequently described, that nothing more can be required than some general remarks for the purpose of pointing out the principal features in the paintings of the first cloister, usually called "primo di Sant' Antonino."

The Crucifixion which covers the principal wall has already been noticed in these pages, especially in the attempt to draw a parallel between the Redeemer as conceived by Giotto, and the Redeemer imagined by Angelico. The figure of the Saviour represented in this first cloister of San Marco is that in which Fra Giovanni most perfectly gave expression to the resignation and sacrifice of Christ. The soft character of the features, the slight bend of the head convey an idea of the very essence of holy resignation. The position of the body on the cross is more erect and more simple than that of Giotto. Less lifeless, and therefore more flexible, it may lack some of the power of Giotto,

Munich, there is a sixth scene from the same predella in the Dublin National Gallery, and a seventh in the Louvre (No. 1,293). The panel which represents the martyrs St. Cosimo and St. Damian before the judge Lysias reveals to an extraordinary degree Fra Angelico's sympathy with the Renaissance, as well as the influence upon his art of the pageants of Florence.

" . . . In this panel the judge is represented sitting on an antique throne. Standing before him on the one side are the two saints and their two companions; on the other are their accusers with two soldiers. Behind the throne whereon the judge sits is a palace wall divided by four fluted pillars. These are crowned by Ionic capitals copied directly from those in the convent cloister which was then a building. Upon the capitals rests a suitable entablature, wherein we find a Brunelleschian architrave, composed of three bands, as in the canopy of the altarpiece. The frieze, too, decorated with pateræ, is quite in the Brunelleschian manner.

"To the extreme left of the picture is a large niche, in front of which, upon an Ionic pedestal, stands a pagan god, copied from some antique statue. Here, again, in the spandrels of the arch are depicted the medallions which Brunelleschi was but then introducing into the architecture of the Renaissance. The armour of the soldiers, and other accessories in the picture, also indicate that the artist has carefully studied antique forms. And all this is from the friar who, we are told, 'bolted his monastery doors and sprinkled holy water in the face of the antique'!

"But there is another feature in this predella which is deserving of attention.

but it expresses certainly a sublime sacrifice. The correspondence of the parts with each other, the shape of the nude, are more graceful than in Giotto. It may be difficult to analyse the two creations, but the characteristic difference is, that force and energy are publicly marked in the one, and yielding acquiescence in the other; that Giotto had more nature, Angelico more ideal; the language of the first being in harmony with his genius, that of the second in accord with the trusting kindness of his nature. Artistically the proportions are equally good in both. Giotto created his type in the full consciousness of feelings excited to an extraordinary degree by the revival of religion and art. Angelico took the type of Giotto and gave it an intense religious feeling and a more perfect material shape. Giotto first, Angelico last, gave to the crucified Saviour proper forms. They are thus the poles which support the edifice of Christian delineation. If analysed in reference to mere nude, a part such as the thorax, or

We see in it that Fra Angelico was anxious, and even too anxious, to get accurate local colour into his pictures. We see in it the influence of the pageant.

"On the Florentine painters of this age, and notably on Fra Angelico and Pesellino, the pageant, so characteristic a feature of Florentine life in the Quattrocento, exercised a most powerful influence. And at no time in her history did Florence see processions more frequent and more magnificent than those which passed through her streets in the year 1439. Early in that year the Council for the union of the Churches of the East and the West had removed its seat from Ferrara to the banks of the Arno. Pope and Patriarch and Emperor came to Florence with great pomp, with trains of prelates and princes, and for months afterwards there were frequent processions here and there in the old city, and imposing functions in the principal churches. Writers like Vespasiano da Bisticci have discoursed upon the splendour of the costumes of the strangers from the gorgeous East. Their rich silken robes, heavy with gold, were admired by all. But their fantastic head-dresses, which the learned regarded with interest as being survivals of ancient forms of head-gear, only excited the merriment of the populace.

"By Fra Angelico the visitors were regarded with peculiar interest. For years afterwards effects of their visit can be traced in his works. So eager a learner was he, so very much alive to what was going on in the world around him, that, for a time, under this influence he occasionally manifested a tendency to give too great prominence to local colour, to descend to mere illustration. It is so in the *predella* before us. Here he has produced an almost grotesque effect by giving us samples of all kinds of strange Eastern head-dresses. Later on he recovered his artistic equilibrium and made a better use of the knowledge he had acquired. In the 'Adoration of the Magi' at San Marco we find Eastern costumes and Oriental types of countenance introduced in such a way as to add to the decorative charm of the picture." (DOUGLAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80.)

an articulation, will be found to have been truly rendered by Angelico—human, fleshy, noble, with muscles and bones in their proper places.¹ Without intense search after details, the hands and feet are well indicated. The draperies on the hips are perfect.

At the foot of this noble effigy, St. Dominic grasps the cross and, kneeling, looks up with the deepest expression of grief to the Saviour. It is a creation of excellent outline, geometrical figure, proportion, and action, and so well put together as to form a perfect representation. Harmonising as it does with the figure of the Saviour, its beauties almost baffle description, but the truth, feeling, and passion, which are so simply expressed, reveal a moment of deep inspiration in Angelico. His execution rises to the height of his inspiration, and the clear, warm colour is blended and relieved, so that the whole appears a reality.

Silence has usually been enforced in the solitude of the cloister, and the friar is allowed but one companion, with whom he paces the galleries of his elected home. In the lunette of the door leading to the sacristy of San Marco, St. Peter Martyr stands, and with a threatening glance imposes silence with his forefinger on his mouth. The knife imbedded in his right shoulder conveys the story of his martyrdom. It is difficult to say whether Angelico did not express the obligation of silence more by the glance than by the gesture. His aim, which was evidently force of expression, could not have been better attained; and he quietly succeeds where perhaps Masaccio would have studied to convey the idea by muscular action. Different methods might have produced the same result, but Angelico had his path and kept within it.

*¹ We believe this judgment to be entirely correct. In his book on Fra Angelico the editor sought to show that the friar did not neglect the study of the human form, and that he was a student of classical antiquity and of the works of those architects and sculptors who went to classical antiquity for their models. Other critics, such as Berenson and Tumiati, had noted Fra Angelico's study of natural landscape, but no critic had noted the evidences of Fra Angelico's sympathy with the great sculptors and architects of his time, such as can be clearly seen in all the chief works of his last period, and in such works of his earlier periods as the S. Marco altarpiece and its predella picture of St. Cosimo and St. Damian before Lysias and in the Madonna of the corridor at S. Marco. (See DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, ed. cit., pp. 77-9, 100-2, 129-41.)

In the lunette of another door, St. Dominic with a book wields the discipline of the order, the physical reality of the nine-tailed whip representing the moral as well as the real truth, and inculcating a stern necessity in a religious community. The reward is expressed in a third lunette, where the Saviour issues from the sepulchre. On a fourth, a half-figure of St. Thomas Aquinas illustrated some other phase of monkish life.¹

Above the entrance to the *foresteria*, or hospital for wayfarers, two Dominicans welcome the Saviour's arrival in the skin dress of a pilgrim, holding a staff, and his hat hanging over his shoulders. One of them touches the Redeemer's hand, and grasps His right arm as he greets His coming.² No scene more true, more noble, or more exquisitely rendered can be imagined. The brethren rejoice to meet the pilgrim, and their looks breathe hospitality; whilst the soft features and glance of the Saviour, and His engaging movement, display the truest sense of gratitude. Handsome, youthful, benign, with a slight beard on the chin, and long locks flowing over the shoulders, this is the perfection of a type created by Giotto, the exact semblance of one all divine.³

The frescoes of the first cloister of San Marco thus reveal Angelico as a painter not merely of Madonnas or Paradise, but as one who could delineate passion in various forms and degrees; who could manifest in each action its peculiar motive, and who fitly presents his meaning with propriety, grace, and truth.

In the chapter-house of the convent, Fra Giovanni repeated the Crucifixion, but with its attendant incidents, the thieves, and a crowd of twenty life-size figures.⁴ The Saviour, a repetition of

¹ The painting is much injured.

² Fra Bartolommeo almost repeated this subject in a lunette in the refectory of this very convent of San Marco, and it is one of the finest works of the master.

³ Vasari describes a fresco above a doorway in the cloisters of the *Bella* of Florence, and gives the subject as St. Benedict inculcating the duty of silence. The annotators of the Sansoni edition of Vasari state that this fresco still exists—a half length in the fifth cloister above a condemned door once leading to the refectory. All but the head and hands are said to be injured by restoring. See VASARI, iv., 33, and VASARI (Sansoni ed.), i., 514.

⁴ A red background, substituted by restorers for the original blue, spoils the general effect.

* The authors, like almost all the friar's biographers, have fallen into error in regard to the background of this picture. The red background is not the addition



THE VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED, WITH SAINTS

By FRA ANGELICO

From a fresco in the Museum of S. Mark, Florence

Altinari, pho.

W.—To face page 84

that in the first cloister, the repentant thief, are fine, but in the unrepentant sinner we come upon a form of delineation evidently repulsive to the nature of the kindly and religious friar. Not that the outlines, proportion, or character are absent, but the material development of the inner forms is as much wanting as in the painters of the fourteenth century. Here it is that he peculiarly shows a feeling different from that of Masaccio. He had to depict an instant movement, one requiring that species of skill which Masaccio possessed. He is unequal to the task, and proves that when he issues from his peaceful paradise of thought he loses his way. Otherwise the incidents of this great Crucifixion are full of the usual beauties and excellence, much individuality and movement, much gentleness in the figures and faces. The Virgin in a swoon, attended by the Marys, is good, though somewhat arranged, and St. John the Baptist, as before, is a splendid creation.¹ In the painted frame are numerous lozenges and medallions with busts of saints, sybils and Dominican friars.²

Of all the frescoes in the upper rooms of the convent that most worthy of immediate attention is the Annunciation in the dormitory, to which reference has already been made. The figures are less than life size.³ The Virgin is slender, gentle, and graceful; but the face has not the freshness or youth of that of Cortona, or the angelic candour of that of Santa Maria Novella. The proportions of the head and chin are small; and we note the germ of defects which Benozzo Gozzoli inherited and matured. In colour, great lightness, warmth, and harmony are attained. On the opposite wall to this the Saviour again appears crucified, with St. Dominic at the foot of the cross as in the first cloister; and in the passage the Virgin may be seen enthroned between four saints.

A magnificent Coronation of the Virgin decorates the wall of

of a restorer. Fra Angelico, like all other Italian fresco painters before Raphael, was accustomed to lay in *buon fresco* a ground of sinopia before applying a blue pigment. Ultramarine and *azzurro della magna* were only used in *secco*. In the case of this fresco the red ground was painted in fresco, but the blue was never added, or, if it was added, it has entirely disappeared.

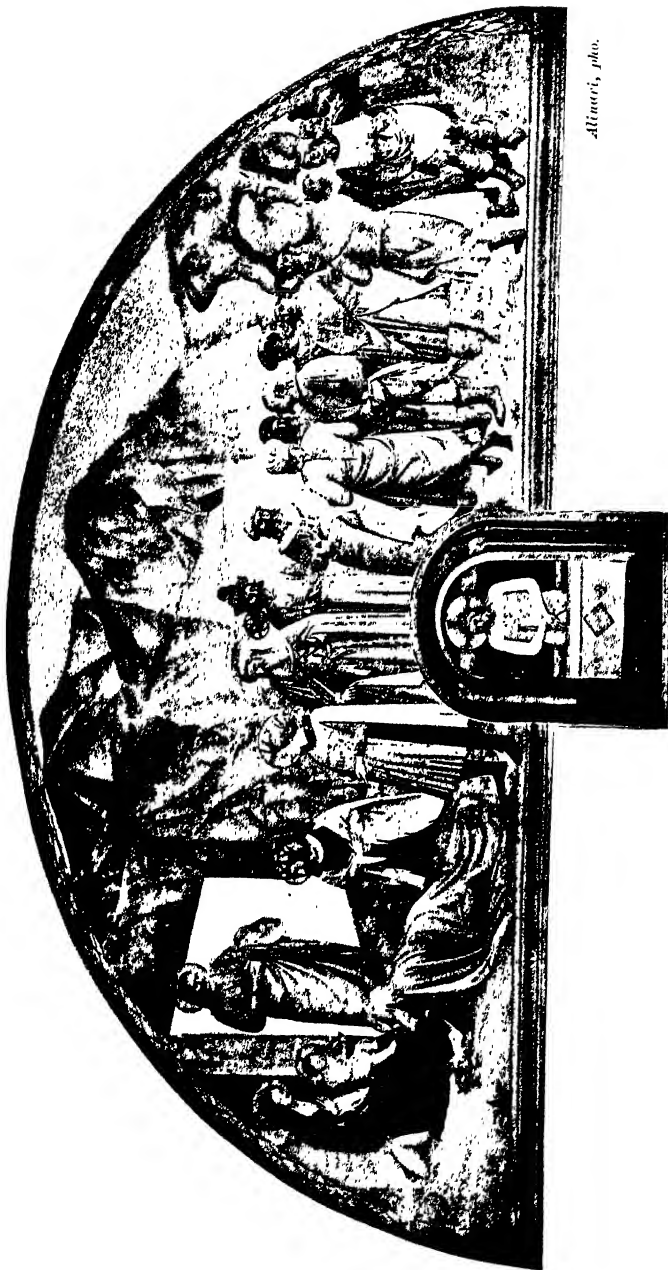
¹ The dress of the Magdalen seen from behind is repainted.

² These names are all inscribed.

³ About three-quarters.

one of the cells. It is a heavenly vision of the Virgin and Saviour, with a perfectly ideal representation of the latter sending, as it were, with both hands the crown to His mother, who bends forward with her arms crossed, and looks supremely happy. Nothing can be finer than this group—than the type of the Saviour, which is one of the most suitable to the idea of the divinity that Angelico ever produced, simpler in lines, more religiously soft in expression than those of Giotto, yet regular in proportion and perfect in shape. Harmony and unity are not merely in the features, but in the attitude, and in the elegant sweep of the draperies; and here again Angelico transformed the Giottesque creation so as to suit his own intense religious feeling. If we revert to an antique type of the Christian time, that of Ravenna, whose form and proportion, though noble, reveal the pagan source from which they were derived, we find a creation more suitable to the development of Christian feeling than those of immediately succeeding times. Giotto was the first to grasp anew this antique simplicity, which he transformed, whilst he restored it. Angelico completed the type by modelling it into that of the Redeemer, who, in a sublime and pathetic manner, expresses the resignation of sacrifice; he did this not so much because he perfected form, but because he infused into it a more religious pathos; and here, in the representation of the Saviour crowning the Virgin, is the last phase of the comparison between the Redeemer of Ravenna and that of Giotto. For it must always be borne in mind that Angelico was, as regards art, less of the fifteenth than of the fourteenth century, that he disdained, or purposely neglected, all the developments of the time in which the study of form and classicism was in full swing. A proof of his contempt for means¹ is distinctly to be found in this one example of the Coronation. On a wall smooth as vellum he drew in the subject with surprising simplicity of lines. He laid in the shadows with a light grey tone, allowing the white ground to pierce and give them transparency; and so the picture was finished, with what a contrast of ease as compared with the dash

*¹ This is a surprising judgment. Because an artist dares to be an innovator in technique, because he uses, with consummate success, a great economy of means, does he thereby show a contempt for means?



Alinari, pho.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI
By FRA ANGELICO
From a fresco in the Museum of S. Mark, Florence

of the fifteenth century! St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Peter Martyr, in threes at each side beneath the Redeemer and Virgin, form a garland of a devotional character, each looking up and stretching his arms towards the joys of Paradise.

Magnificent, likewise in the cells of San Marco, is the Adoration of the Magi,¹ decorating, it is believed, the room which Cosimo de' Medici ordered to be built for his own use, and in which he enjoyed the converse of the abbot Antonino and of Angelico.² Here Pope Eugenius IV. slept when, in 1442, he visited Florence for the purpose of consecrating the church of San Marco, and Fra Giovanni produced a fresco Giottesque in composition and harmony of lines, and equal to anything that he had ever done for tenderness, grace, and softness of colour.

Again, the Marys at the Sepulchre in the cells strike us as a splendid effort, whilst the rest hardly yield to it, being all more or less beautifully executed, but something less than usual marked by depth of religious feeling. In the number, however, no doubt his pupils and helpers had a share.

Very attractive, again, is the Annunciation, repeating a subject already illustrated in San Marco, but with the addition of St. Dominic reverently contemplating the scene from a side portico. Fine, too, is the Virgin attended by St. Joseph. Both of them kneel before the newly born Saviour. In the foreground St. Dominic and a female saint are in a similar attitude; and four angels hover over the stable in which the ass and the ox are ruminating. The composition is full of feeling and expression. Equally agreeable is the *Noli me Tangere*, which is arranged in accordance with the broad rules of Giottesque art.

In comparison with these, the few wall frescoes of San Domenico of Fiesole appear to a certain disadvantage. In the

*¹ This fresco is full of reminiscences of the sojourn of the Eastern Emperor and Patriarch in Florence in the year 1439. In this picture the three kings are followed by a suite of a score of persons of different ranks. The greater part of them are wearing Eastern head-dresses, and to some of the company he has succeeded in giving countenances of a markedly Oriental type.

² Thirty-six thousand ducats were spent by Cosimo on the convent of San Marco. He little dreamt what Savonarola was to move against his family from this same place. See RICHEA, vii.; and MARCHESI, i., p. 245.

ex-refectory Angelico painted the Saviour on the cross, the Virgin and St. John at the sides, and St. Dominic grasping the instrument of death,¹ a fresco now in the Louvre, but much injured and repainted.²

In the chapter-house of old, but now in Russia, the fresco of the Virgin and Child between four saints is also damaged by repainting.³

Lorenzo di Credi, in 1501, retouched one of the altarpieces which Angelico executed for the church of Fiesole.⁴ It represented the Virgin and Child between St. Peter, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Dominic, and St. Peter Martyr. Originally built with a triangular pinnacle it was modernised into a square, and the old figures of the pilasters were replaced by new ones: the predella, which is one of the best of the master, and which appeared so admirable to Vasari that he declared he could never tire of looking at it,⁵ represents a celestial glory, the resurrection of the Saviour with the Virgin on one side, and Paradise on the other, and is one of the best purchases of the National Gallery.⁶

¹ See the original record in MARCHESI, i., p. 232.

² Francesco Mariani restored here in 1556. See MARCHESI, i., p. 233. The most injured part is the St. Dominic; but fatal effect was produced by the repainting of a dark-blue background. Louvre, No. 1,294.

³ This fresco was taken off the wall of the chapter-house, and sold in 1882 to the Grand Duke Serge of Russia. (See VASARI, ii., p. 251.)

⁴ See the record in MARCHESI, i., p. 229.

⁵ VASARI, ii., p. 510.

⁶ National Gallery, No. 663. Wood, five parts, 12½ inches high by 8½ inches, 2 feet 1 inch and 2 feet 4½ inches wide. The central panel represents the Resurrection of Christ in a glory of angels. The side pieces contain above 260 kneeling figures of the Virgin, the Baptist, Apostles beatified, and other saints and friars of the Dominican Order. From the Valentini collection at Rome—a ciborium, which once formed part of the altarpiece, is said to have been lately in the hands of Signor Stefano Bardini at Florence. [* This ciborium is now in the late Count Stroganoff's collection in Rome.] In the framing of this fragment are six graceful angels. In the upper part is a half-length of Christ attended by a kneeling angel, higher still a fragment of another angel. Two small pictures of St. Mark and St. Matthew, originally in the pilasters of this altarpiece, are in the Reiset collection, now belonging to the Duke D'Aumale at Chantilly. A second picture in our National collection by Angelico, the Wise Men's Offering (No. 582, wood, 7½ inches high by 2 feet 6½ inches), originally in the Rosini gallery at Pisa, and purchased from that of Messer Ugo Baldi at Florence, may be noticed here. [* This picture is of Angelico's school.] The Virgin sits with the infant on her knee in a rocky landscape, and displays the character of the master, but has not the exquisite finish of other productions executed in his prime.

The finest altarpiece in the church of Fiesole, however, was in Vasari's eyes that of the Coronation of the Virgin.¹ Considerable damage has been done to this picture, which is now in the Louvre, but the Paradise is truly beautiful; and the delicacy and gentleness of the faces are undeniable. The magnificent predella contains the same subjects as that of the pediment from San Domenico in the Oratorio del Gesù at Cortona, with the addition of one representing the Resurrection of the Saviour.² The panels have all more or less suffered from abrasion,³ but the altarpiece as a whole is a good one, giving us that variety of finished heads and extremities in faint modelling which is characteristic of the master, combining golden halos and damaskings and light scales of tints in tertiaries, which are so bright yet so flat as to create the impression of a pattern.⁴

The church of Santa Trinita at Florence obtained from the master one of his finest works, the Deposition from the Cross, now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.⁵ Nothing can be better than the nude of the Redeemer in its fleshy flexible forms, which shows the scars of the previous flagellation, nothing truer than the movement. The group to the right is remarkable, the heads by their drawing and character revealing a point of contact between Angelico and Masolino, as represented by his wall paintings at Castiglione, the landscape betraying the usual defects of perspective. Yet composition, design, and colour, combine to create the harmony which was the great gift of Fra Giovanni.⁶

The convent del Bosco or of S. Buonaventura in the Mugello

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 511.

² Not a Resurrection, but a Pietà.

³ No. 1290. Wood, 2'13 m. high by 2'11. The restoring of this panel has been well carried out, the damaged part alone having been taken up.

⁴ The Virgin Enthroned in San Girolamo of Fiesole, although composed in his manner, is not executed by Angelico.

⁵ No. 166. *Vide* VASARI, ii., p. 513. The altarpiece was in Richa's time in the sacristy (*Chiese*, etc., *u.s.*, iii., p. 157).

⁶ Cleaning has cooled the tones and done some damage. The pinnacles have already been mentioned as by Lorenzo Monaco.

* VASARI (ii., p. 450) states that the figure of Nicodemus in this picture is a portrait of Michelozzo. More probably, in the man wearing a black capuchon, who, with his right hand raised, addresses the apostle standing below, we have a portrait of Michelozzo. This picture was probably executed between the years 1441 and 1446. At that time Michelozzo would be forty to fifty years of age.

was also adorned by a Madonna by Angelico, which has found its way into the Academy of Arts. The Virgin and Child, with the two angels at her sides, is enthroned between saints.¹

For the Annalena monastery at Florence Angelico also executed an altarpiece, in which the Virgin enthroned with the Infant between saints is delineated with his usual feeling.² He also painted a fresco in the lunette of the portal of San Domenico of Florence which has disappeared,³ and an Annunciation for San Francesco fuori della Porta a San Miniato, which has likewise been lost.⁴

Not very remarkable for superior beauty are the remaining panels at the Academy of Arts of Florence.⁵

Three reliquaries by Angelico are preserved in Santa Maria Novella;⁶ one is adorned with the Virgin and Child, the second with the Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi,⁷ the third with a Coronation of the Virgin and saints. The Annunciation in the

¹ No. 283. St. Francis, St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Anthony, St. Cosimo, St. Damian, and St. Peter Martyr. Pediment: Piety, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Bernardino, and three others.

² St. Domenico, St. Cosimo, St. Damian, St. Matthew, St. Lawrence, and St. Francis. Picture now No. 227, and much injured by abrasion, in the Academy of Arts at Florence.

In the collection of Herr Stephan Bourgeois (shown in the Exhibition of the Acad. des Beaux Arts of 1887 at Paris), was a double panel, the Virgin, and the angel Gabriel, bearing the arms of the family of Albizzi, which is stated to have come from San Francesco fuori Porta a San Miniato at Florence. But the execution is quite too feeble for Angelico.

³ VASARI, ii., pp. 512, 513.

* ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii., 513. This Annunciation is now in the National Gallery. It is a school-piece.

⁵ A Coronation of the Virgin of small size, almost entirely repainted and damaged by restoring (No. 36 of Catalogue); a Crucifixion restored and damaged (No. 37 of Catalogue); a Piety and Adoration of the Magi superposed in one panel and possibly by a pupil, at all events damaged (No. 38 of Catalogue). The Dead Saviour Carried by the Apostles to the Sepulchre, a picture originally in the brotherhood del Tempio (No. 40 of Catalogue. Noticed by VASARI, ii., p. 514). St. Thomas Aquinas disputing with the Doctors (No. 49 of Catalogue), and the Dispute of St. Albert (No. 50 of Catalogue).

* ⁶ VASARI, ii., p. 513. The reliquaries commissioned by Giovanni Masi for S. Maria Novella were originally four. The three of which the authors speak are to-day at the convent of S. Marco. The fourth, which represents the Assumption and Death of the Virgin, is in Mrs. Gardner's collection at Boston. (See DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, pp. 29-37.) The Coronation of the Virgin, which is, of course, the fourth and last of the series, was actually executed by a pupil of the master.

⁷ Executed for Fra Giovanni Masi (RICHA, *u.s.*, iii., p. 49).

second of these reliquaries is that which has already been compared with those of Cortona and of San Marco.¹

For the church of Santa Maria Nuova, Angelico again repeated the Coronation of the Virgin, a masterpiece now at the Uffizi,² magnificently composed, and in which the purest ideal is maintained. In the predella,³ the Marriage of the Virgin is one of the greatest compositions of the master, uniting to all the Giottesque qualities the perfect softness and feeling of Fra Giovanni. Twenty-two figures are there beautifully grouped together with animated action, and without any of that coarseness of custom peculiar to the subject in the hands of earlier painters. Equally fine are the two remaining parts of the predella.⁴

That Angelico studied Orcagna has already been remarked. The composition in which that study is most evident is the Last Judgment, which Fra Giovanni frequently repeated, and a noble example of which he executed for the church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Florence.⁵ Without altering the traditional form of this subject, Angelico placed the Saviour on high, surrounded by seraphim and cherubim and presiding over the judgment to which the souls are called by the trump of the angels beneath him. Below, to his right, is the Paradise in which the elect kneel in prayer, amongst whom a friar may be seen embraced by an angel; and, approaching it, a dance of angels in a flowery meadow leading the blessed through a gate to a state of eternal happiness. This angelic dance, suggesting and expressing excessive joy and celestial repose, is the dance of Orcagna at the Strozzi, imitated and improved, not only in the conception but in the types, the character, the movements, and the draperies, by Angelico, who

¹ Vasari notes as in San Felice in Piazza a Virgin between saints (VASARI, ii., p. 516). The saints are St. John the Baptist, St. Dominic, St. Thomas, and St. Peter Martyr, and a picture of that subject is now in the Pitti (Pitti Gallery No. 373). It is either a copy from the master, or so totally repainted that Angelico's hand can no longer be recognised.

² No. 1290 of Catalogue. See also VASARI, ii., p. 516.

³ Uffizi, No. 1178.

⁴ Uffizi, No. 1184, the Death of the Virgin. Uffizi, No. 1162, Birth of St. John the Baptist. In the church of the Hospital of San Matteo at Florence is a fine Virgin and Child adored by four angels, with a grey distance. This is a splendid example of Angelico's manner, recalling his frescoes.

⁵ It is now No. 266 in the Academy of Arts.

finds in the great predecessor not only a pictorial but a religious inspiration.

On the Saviour's left are the condemned and the demons struggling with souls doomed to perdition. Copying the seven "bolge" of Dante, he impartially commits a host of monks and popes to the flames. But his kindly temper does not allow him to deal satisfactorily with such scenes as these. Again, in the glory of the upper Paradise, the action and its delineation in the figure of the Saviour are cold. Majestic grandeur and repose may be found in the elect. Soft angelic tenderness is expressed in their faces; but having exhausted his powers in them, Angelico had none in store to infuse into the eyes or form of the Redeemer. The Judgment is purely a conception of the fourteenth century carried out by Angelico in the fifteenth century. Compared with the earlier effort of Orcagna, that of the Dominican lacks power and unity.¹ This subject, repeated and conceived in the same spirit in a panel formerly in the collection of Cardinal Fesch and the Earl of Dudley, and now in the Berlin Museum, is best again in that portion which is devoted to the elect; but the figures generally are executed with more than usual boldness, and have less repose than in previous examples.²

A third Judgment³ in the Corsini gallery at Rome is remarkable because the Saviour, sitting with a book in His left and cursing with His right hand, imitates the attitude of the Saviour in the Last Judgment at the Campo Santo at Pisa.⁴

¹ Varnishes have deprived this altarpiece of its freshness, the tempera being sullied by them.

² Berlin Museum No. 60A. Wood, central panel, 1.01 m. high by 0.03; sides, 1.01 by 0.27. Bought in 1884 from Lord Dudley. Altered in form and impaired by some retouching.

³ Here, as elsewhere, the authors largely disregard the chronological order of the master's works, and so fail to realize how he developed.

⁴ A thick coat of varnishes of various periods disfigures the panel. The picture is small and, like the last, altered in shape. The subject, treated as has been seen in the panels of the Santissima Annunziata at Florence, may again be found in a small panel at Leonforte in Sicily in the church of the Cappuccini, a donation to that church of the Branciforti Trabbi family. The composition is almost a repetition of that of Lord Dudley's picture. The Saviour menaces with his right and left. The picture is repainted, and copious retouching in oil all but obliterates the style of the master, so that it is difficult to judge whether originally the picture was by the master, or an old copy.

* This picture was stolen in 1908.

A small, weak, and repainted Ascension by Angelico, a much-restored Descent of the Holy Spirit, are also in the Corsini gallery;¹ and a Virgin and Child, with saints from the gallery of Count Bisenzio at Rome, lately adorned the Dudley collection.² The Louvre has inherited a little panel representing the Accolation of St. John from the Rogers collection. It is a little panel in which the daughter of Herodias is introduced to the right of the principal subject, dancing before Herod.³ M. de Triqueti exhibited some years since in Paris a very pretty Madonna with saints and angels, a small piece, the back of which, now separated from the front, represents an injured head of Christ.⁴ In the Turin gallery two very graceful angels, each on a small panel kneeling on clouds, are genuine works of Angelico.⁵

*¹ There are wings of the Last Judgment in the same gallery mentioned above.

² Sold to Mr. Sedelmeyer in June, 1892, for 800 guineas. In the ex-Barker collection there was a very fine Madonna with a female saint kneeling. In front on one side is an angel, three others holding the drapery behind. In the spandrels are two angels with censers. The picture is in good preservation. In the University gallery at Oxford there are two small figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, quite in Angelico's style. An Annunciation in the same collection, of very small size, seems copied from Angelico, and might be by Benozzo Gozzoli rather than Pesello to whom it is assigned.

³ Louvre, No. 1,291. Wood, 0.20 high by 0.30. Bequest from Mr. His de La Salle.

⁴ Four angels are at the Virgin's shoulders; at the sides, St. Paul and St. Peter (left), presenting a kneeling prelate (right), St. George with his sword.

⁵ Turin gallery, Nos. 94, 96. No. 93, a Virgin and Child, does not combine the exquisite feeling of Angelico's best works. In the style of the latter is a picture (No. iii., 25), in the public gallery of Parma, representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, with seven angels about her, between St. Francis and St. Dominic, who embrace each other as they kneel, and the erect St. Paul and St. John the Baptist. This also is executed in the spirit, but without the refinement of Angelico, and presents the character of certain frescoes in San Marco, which are assigned for this reason to Fra Benedetto. [* Fra Benedetto, brother of Fra Angelico, was not a painter nor a miniaturist, but simply a scribe of choral books.] A record on the back of the panel says it was bought at Florence in 1786, and considered to be by Benozzo Gozzoli. [* This picture seems to us to be by Fra Angelico himself, though not one of his best works.]

A Madonna between St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr in the Berlin gallery (No. 60), though repainted in old times, is evidently by Angelico. The greeting of St. Dominic and St. Francis, and the apparition of St. Francis at Arles (Nos. 61 and 62 in the same gallery), are both by Angelico, but are more or less retouched.

A pretty Virgin with six angels in perfect preservation is in the Frankfurt gallery (No. 7). [* This picture was not executed by the master himself.]

A pretended Angelico, lately in the Campana collection and afterwards in

In the Vatican gallery, in addition to two pieces already described as part of the altarpiece of Perugia, is a small shrine in which the Virgin is shown with the infant Christ in her arms attended by angels in prayer. In front St. Catherine and St. Dominic are kneeling, a most exquisite example of Angelico's skill.

An Entombment of the Virgin, engraved when in the Ottley collection as a Giotto, is a noble specimen of Angelico, which

Paris, represents the Virgin and Child, with four angels behind the throne, and St. John the Baptist, St. Francis, St. Lawrence, St. Jerome, St. Cosimo, and St. Damian. In a predella are scenes from the lives of the saints at each side of a Pieta. This piece is certainly not by Angelico, but by some pupil, and recalls to mind the manner of Andrea da Firenze. The predella subjects are copies from Angelico.

St. Romuald imposing penance on the Emperor Otho is a well-preserved panel of the master (No. 3. Wood, 0·22 m. high by 0·27), in the Antwerp gallery. [* This is not in our judgment by the master himself.]

A Last Judgment, again at Berlin (No. 57), with an inscription purporting that the picture was executed in 1456, a year after Angelico's death, is assigned to him and to his disciple Cosimo Rosselli. It is by an imitator of Angelico's manner, and the upper part, which is the best, makes an approach to the style of Rosselli, but the lower is really of a common character.

Marchese quotes this picture on the authority of FORTOUL'S *De l'art en Allemagne*. The Bammerville collection, sold at Christie's in 1854, had a picture assigned to Angelico, and much in the style of the Last Judgment of Berlin.

In 1432, as has already been stated, Angelico painted for the convent of Sant' Alessandro of Brescia an Annunciation, of which the record has been preserved (*vide* MARCHESI, i., p. 401). A picture representing that subject seems still to exist there, having, on the predella, five scenes from the life of the Virgin. It is now but a daub of modern colour; but where the original painting can be traced, the manner is akin to that of an imitator of the Umbrian school of Gentile da Fabriano. [* This picture is now generally regarded as a work of Jacopo Bellini.] That Angelico executed an Annunciation for Sant' Alessandro of Brescia is certain, but that he painted the present daub is impossible.

Amongst the pictures in the magazine of the Turin Museum, one represents the Virgin enthroned with a sleeping Infant between St. Lawrence, St. Aurelius, St. Amicus, and St. Albinus. This is a very common production, abraded in the flesh tints, so that the panel appears through the preparation. The figure of St. Albinus, little cupids painted as relief ornaments to the throne, and angels at the back of the seat, are less damaged than the rest, and the flesh tints of the latter are of a light rosy colour. The painter whose second-rate style reminds one of Gentile da Fabriano and his followers, or such artists of the Venetian state as, for instance, Antonio da Negroponete, is Paolo of Brescia, as is proved by the following inscription: PAULUS BRISEIENSIS PINXIT. 1458. It is not possible to say whether the Annunciations at Sant' Alessandro and the Madonna at Turin are by the same hand, but there is a common style in both.

has often changed hands, having been in the Fuller-Maitland collection and subsequently in possession of Mr. Farrar in London.¹ Mr. Maitland, on the other hand, possessed to the last a charming piece by Angelico, representing St. Francis on his deathbed surrounded by friars and spectators in the traditional form. This is one of the most charming miniature pieces that Angelico created, though not a foot high and but two feet broad. It represents an impressive scene in the open air in a court where about twenty-seven people, including laymen and Franciscan friars, form a semicircle about the saint's pallet. St. Francis lies on a yellow and red bedcloth, two brethren leaning over him, a man in a red cloak probes the stigma in the side. Some of the spectators are surprised, others are in prayer and mourning. The court is lined with buildings; above the wall one sees the spirit of the dead saint taken to heaven by two angels. Time, which has not been kind to this lovely piece, has taken nothing from the admirable expressiveness of numerous and varied faces.² The Maitland collection likewise contained an Assumption of the Virgin in a mandorla carried by six angels, with St. Francis and St. Jerome kneeling at the side of the tomb;³ a large picture assigned indeed to Fiesole, but really executed by Andrea da Firenze and worthy to be seen by the side of the same artist's picture in Santa Margarita of Cortona.⁴

In Lord Methuen's collection at Corsham is a very beautiful picture by Angelico of the Death of the Virgin, who lies on a stretcher, with the apostles and others—altogether fifteen in

*¹ This picture is now in Mr. J. G. Johnson's collection at Philadelphia.

² Ex Fuller-Maitland collection. Wood, 11 inches high by 27½ inches. A spectator to the left, wearing a red and white hood and a red tunic and an opal green cape, is partly injured by a horizontal split.

* This panel, which is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, belongs to the master's last period. It is in fact closer in style to the frescoes of the studio of Nicholas V. than any other panel picture by the master. It is probably one of the pictures executed at Cosimo's order for the Franciscan house of S. Buonaventura al Bosco.

³ Ex Fuller-Maitland collection. Wood, 76 inches high by 66 inches. Figures two-thirds of life size and of Giottesque type. The picture was in the Ottley collection.

⁴ This also was in the Ottley collection. A small head in fresco by Angelico, in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Gillis, was exhibited at Manchester in 1858.

number—about her. Above this scene the Virgin is carried upwards by a choir of angels, of whom there are ten at each side, towards the Eternal, who appears in the sky.¹

A most admirable picture of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and the death of Peter Martyr is that which was purchased in 1873 by Bishop Strossmayer,² of Djakovo, in Hungary. Like the Death and Assumption of the Virgin at Corsham it is in two parts, each composition being remarkable for Giottesque energy in action and expression. In the first St. Francis kneels and receives the rays carrying the stigmas from Christ, who appears in the sky in the shape of a six-winged seraph. A stream cuts the foreground into two parts. It is bridged by a log. Beyond, in the distance, a friar issues from his cell and shades his eyes to protect them from the light of the seraph. In the second, Peter Martyr is on the ground losing blood from the wound in his head, but raising himself as he writes the Credo, and the guard kneels on him and prepares to strike him with his dagger. In the sky above the landscape three crowns of martyrdom are sent down to the saint. The execution of this panel is exquisite; its preservation exceptionally good.

In the Old Masters Exhibition of 1877 there was a Martyrdom of St. Cosimo and St. Damian, ascribed to Angelico, belonging to W. Graham, Esq. The scene here is when the two saints are in the flames, to which they have been assigned by the judge and his attendants, who are seen in a balcony.³ In the same exhibition was a Virgin holding the infant Christ in her arms and attended by four angels.⁴

¹ Lord Methuen. Wood, 22½ inches high by 16 inches. This picture was formerly in an altar in a chapel near Leghorn.

* This picture, which is in Mrs. J. L. Gardner's collection, we have already referred to above (p. 90). It was, we believe, the third of the series of reliquary panels executed by Fra Angelico for S. Maria Novella.

² Afterwards Archbishop of Vienna. [* This picture is now in the Strossmayer Gallery at Agram.]

³ Wood, 14½ inches high by 18 inches. Not seen.

* This little panel we have referred to above as a part of the predella of the S. Marco altarpiece. It is now in the Dublin Gallery. Another small panel by the master, a part of a predella, but not of that of S. Marco, is in the Northwick collection. It also has for its subject a scene from the lives of St. Cosimo and St. Damian, the healing of a sick man.

⁴ Wood, 7 inches by 4, belonging to R. R. Holmes, Esq. Not seen.

In the Academy Exhibition of 1876 there was an Annunciation, assigned to Angelico, described as belonging to J. Hardcastle, Esq.¹

The Marquis de Gouvello, in 1885, exhibited, in Paris, a picture of Christ crucified, attended by several saints, which may at one time have been a good example of Angelico, but is now injured by retouching and repainting.²

In a bust of St. John the Baptist, at the Düsseldorf Academy, we cannot recognise the hand of the master; nor, indeed, is the panel worthy even of Benozzo.³

A fragment representing St. Roch, St. Benedict, and another saint, in the Pohl Museum at Altenburg, may have had at one time the character of an original Angelico, but it is very much injured by retouching.⁴

A Virgin and Child, attributed to Angelico in the Quandt collection at Dresden, is now in the museum of Oldenburg.⁵

Angelico had had occasion to meet the pontiff Eugenius IV. in the convent of San Marco at Florence. He had no doubt performed his part in the ceremonies of the consecration in 1442, and Eugenius was not unacquainted with the merits of one who had already achieved so much for art. Vasari relates how Angelico proceeded to Rome to paint in the Vatican for Pope Nicholas V.⁶ He says that the Pope offered the archbishopric of Florence to Angelico, who refused it,⁷ but that Angelico recommended Antonino, his brother friar, for the post because he was a friend of the poor, erudite, able, and God-fearing. There is enough in this story, if it be true, to determine the time when Angelico first visited Rome. Zabarella, Archbishop of Florence, died in 1445, and was succeeded by Fra Antonino during the

¹ Wood, 9½ inches high by 7 inches.

² Alsace-Lorraine Exhibition of 1885, No. 186.

³ Düsseldorf Academy, No. 27. Wood, 0·9 m. high by 0·17 m. The saint in full face, with a forked beard and chestnut hair. A gold halo about the head, relieved on a brown ground within a rainbow of red and gold arabesques.

⁴ Altenburg Museum, No. 120.

⁵ Oldenburg Museum, No. 7. Wood, 0·74 m. high by 0·61 m.

⁶ VASARI, ii., p. 516.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

pontificate of Eugenius IV. Vasari therefore errs in the name of the Pope who offered the mitre to Fra Giovanni,¹ and it is clear, on other grounds, that the invitation which took the painter to Rome was given by Eugenius and not by Nicholas V.²

Eugenius IV. died on the 25th of February, and Nicholas V. was crowned on the 19th of March, 1447. In March, April, and May, Angelico was employed in the chapel of Saint Peter's, which he adorned with frescoes with the help of Benozzo Gozzoli and another assistant, called Giovanni d' Antonio de la Checha. His salary was 200 ducats a year, which he received at intervals during the pontificate of the two popes.³ But there is reason for thinking that Angelico was not sure of the interest of Nicholas V., because, early in May, at a meeting of the council of the cathedral of Orvieto, a letter was read in which he offered his services to the Orvietans at the remuneration which had been given to him at Rome. The council immediately accepted the offer. It was agreed that Angelico should paint the new chapel of the Duomo with the assistance of Benozzo, Giovanni di Antonio, and Giacomo di Poli, and he performed his part of the contract with great punctuality, delivering, on the 28th of September, two finished sections of the chapel ceiling, in one of which he represented Christ as judge of the world in a glory of angels, and in the second, sixteen prophets in majesty.

It is generally admitted that this fragment of a great decoration is the finest creation of Angelico, if we except the fresco with which he subsequently adorned the chapel of Pope Nicholas V. at Rome. We cannot unfortunately contrast them with the frescoes of the chapel of St. Peter, which perished at the beginning of the sixteenth century. All the figures of Orvieto are remarkable for sweet expression, noble mien, and grand action. The draperies are ample and beautifully fitted,

*¹ The whole story seems to lack foundation.

² ALBERTINI in *Opusculum*, u.s., says, "Capella Nicolai V. et alia secreta Eugenii IIII. quas frater Joann. Flor. ord. praed. perpulchre depinxit in palatio . . ." p. 49. (See ed. Schmarsow, 1886, p. 12.) But besides see *postea* the records of Angelico's employment at Rome as early as March, 1447.

³ See the records of payments for the decoration of the chapel of San Pietro in MÜNTZ, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes* (8vo, Paris, 1878-9), i., p. 126, and for the Orvietan records L. FUMI, *Il Duomo d' Orvieto*, Roma, 1891, pp. 393-5.

the colour is harmonious, and the treatment full of breadth. Where parts appear beneath the level of the rest we may divine the hand of Benozzo. Christ, whose glance is directed to the evil-doers, is seated on clouds in a circle of light. His open palm is raised, His left hand rests on the orb, showing the stigma. But His form is not delineated with as much success as are the forms of the sixteen prophets in the next section of the ceiling. We shall see that the rest of the space was filled in by Luca Signorelli later on in the century.¹

Having got thus far, and left materials for continuing the decoration, Angelico withdrew to Rome, from whence he never again returned to Orvieto. It is probable that he was detained at the Vatican by order from Nicholas V. It is on record that he painted for that Pontiff a studio at the Vatican, for which he received payments in December, 1449.² Early in 1450 he had returned to Florence, where he was elected prior of the monastery of Fiesole. In March, 1451-2, great efforts were made by the superintendents of the chapel of the Holy Girdle at Prato to engage his services to paint the choir of their church.³ The prior was not to be moved by offers. He could only be moved by orders, and it is probably in consequence of a command which he could not disobey that he was forced to visit Rome, where he covered with the finest of his paintings the chapel at the Vatican, which still bears the name of Nicholas V. In this beautiful place, which is still open to the faithful of our day, there are copious illustrations of the lives of two saints.

Three lunettes, each of which is divided vertically into two parts, contain six scenes from the legend of St. Stephen. Beneath these, in five fields, are episodes in the life of St.

*¹ Some have sought to show that the figure of Christ is by Benozzo. To show how unfounded is this opinion it is only necessary to recall the Christ painted a year or two later at Montefalco. The truth is that Benozzo in this his first period was a very inferior artist, as his contemporaries recognised. Later on, after years of hard work, he made some improvement, but his work never had the quality and charm of Fra Angelico's paintings.

² MÜNTZ, *u.s.*, p. 127. [* We find mention of these frescoes already in a document of February 15, 1448. This document was first published by Müntz. See also PACCHIONI, *Gli ultimi anni del beato Angelico*, in *Arte*, 1909, pp. 2-4.]

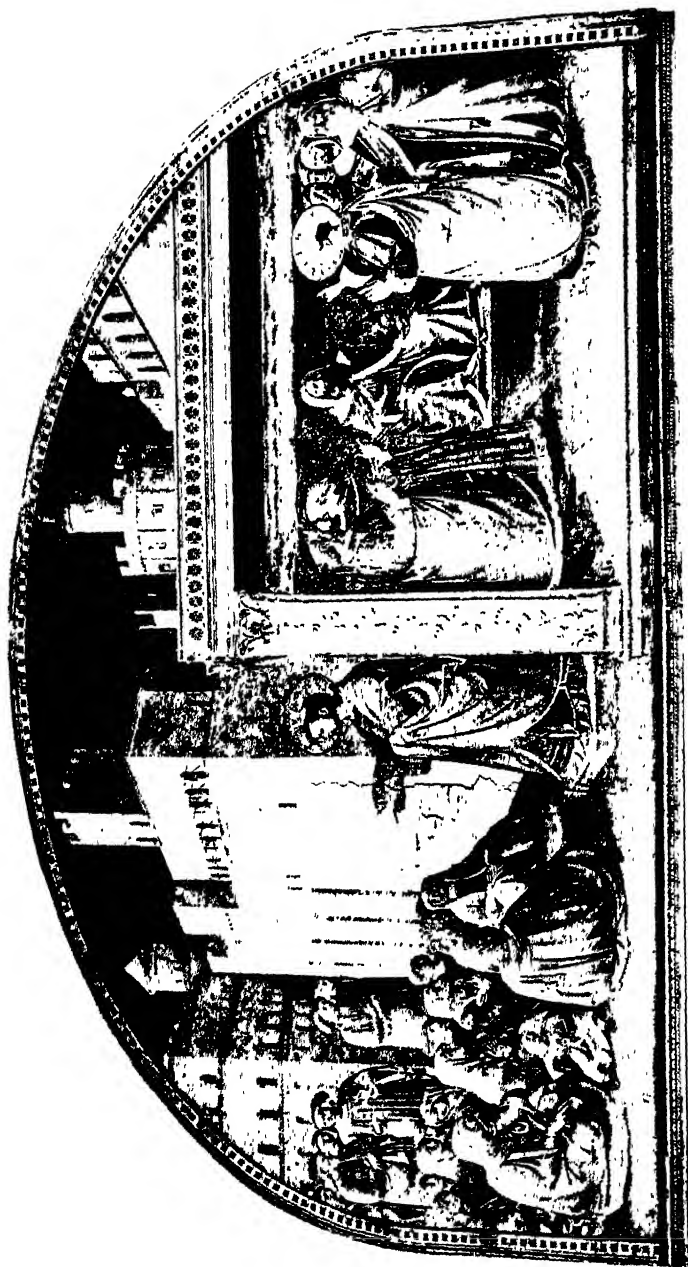
³ Compare MARCHESI, *u.s.*, i., 594.

Lawrence. The wall in rear of the altar being without pictorial decoration.

The first lunette to the right of the entrance contains the Ordination of St. Stephen and his Distribution of Alms; the second above the entrance comprises the Sermon and the Examination before the Council of Jerusalem; the third to left of the entrance includes the Expulsion from the City and the Stoning. On the lower course of the wall to the left of the door is the Ordination of St. Lawrence; on the side above the ingress St. Lawrence receives from Sixtus II. treasures for distribution and distributes alms;¹ on the lower course of the wall to the left of the door, St. Lawrence before Decius, and the Martyrdom, are represented. On the pilasters at each side of the lower course of frescoes Angelico painted saints erect in niches, St. Anastasius (transferred to canvas and almost obliterated), St. Leo (restored), St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ambrose, St. Buonaventura, St. Augustin, St. John Chrysostom (transferred to canvas and almost gone), and Pope Gregory the Great. In the ceiling the four Evangelists are majestically represented with their symbols.²

In the execution of this series, Fra Giovanni, though nearly threescore years of age, displayed a vigour equal, if not superior, to that of his youth. As scene after scene fell complete from his pencil, he seemed to gather from the previous effort new strength for the next. In the Ordination of St. Stephen he represents St. Peter turning from the high altar and stooping towards the kneeling St. Stephen to give him the cup in the presence of six disciples. In these the stern gravity of Giotto and the masculine force of Masaccio are replaced by a gentle feeling of brotherly affection, mingled with religious fervour. But grave and noble above all the rest is St. Peter, grand in attitude and superior in dignity and rank. Nothing more reverent can be imagined than the expression and attitude of St. Stephen. In the distance the transept and nave of the church are not merely in harmony with the figures, but in good proportion and of a fine style; and thus Angelico, who had seen the efforts of Masaccio and other Florentines to improve per-

*¹ In this fresco there is an allusion to the Anno Santo solemnly inaugurated by Nicholas V. at Christmas, 1449. Two soldiers are breaking through a walled-up doorway. ² St. John, however, daubed with colour, and St. Mark damaged.



Altieri, pho.

THE PREACHING OF ST. STEPHEN

BY FRA ANGELICO

From a fresco in the Chapel of Pope Nicholas V. in the Vatican

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spective distance, and who had imitated hitherto the incapacity of Masolino in this respect, began at last to feel the advantage of progress in a subordinate part of pictorial art. The influence of the new movement is also seen in the figures in these frescoes, which are better drawn and articulated than in his earlier work, and are also modelled with a keener sense of form. This is especially seen in the S. Lorenzo giving alms, where the figures seem to be directly taken from life. In the St. Lawrence before Decius the figure of the Emperor reveals the influence of classical models. As a scene of charity and love of human kind, Angelico's almsgiving is unsurpassed for pathos. With religious devotion in his face, the saint on the steps of his church slips a piece into the hand of a young mother, of gentle aspect and soft features, draped in flowing vestments and expressing in her face and attitude a noble modesty. A clerk behind him seems to call the list of those who wait to be relieved. An older female near the first stands by in prayerful attitude. Other poor eagerly move forward for their share; whilst, to the right, two women depart contented, and communing with each other. To delineate poverty without squalidity, and express the modesty which is ashamed to beg, is a gift which Angelico possessed to the full, and in this scene he poured out the full measure of those kindly and gentle feelings which filled his own breast. Masaccio, in depicting the poor around St. Peter, had not forgotten that true judges never pardon a vulgar picture. Noble features and frames are clad in humble garments. But the exquisite gentleness of motion and grace of demeanour, the sensibility which Angelico delineates, prove him to have lived in a sort of ideal atmosphere, hardly attainable by any other than himself.

In contrast again with Masaccio's St. Peter preaching at the Carmine, yet how fine, St. Stephen speaks, enforcing his arguments with the play of his hands, as St. Catherine does in San Clemente. The listeners, who seem to be moved in their deepest depths by his images and arguments, are admirable. The means are simple, and the result beautiful. To say that the remaining subjects of the series are equal to the three first is sufficient.¹

¹ But time and restoring have injured the frescoes in which the saint is led to martyrdom and stoned. So again the pictures of Sixtus II., conferring ordination

In the Distribution of Alms by St. Lawrence we are moved by the joy apparent in the faces of the poor. The saint, in the dress of a subdeacon, holds a purse in his left hand, and gives a piece to a man on hand-crutches. Right and left the beggars bend forward with reverent glance and longing motion. A blind man on the right feels his way to the spot where the saint stands. Women move forward with their children. The distance again is a church in perspective, of simple architecture, and as good as that in the Almsgiving of St. Stephen. Less realistic or severely true than Masaccio, Angelico is here again more gentle and graceful. Masaccio real, Angelico mystic: such might be the sentence of a critic of our time.¹

After visiting the Sixtine chapel, and retiring from the contemplation of the terrible grandeur and the splendid violence done to nature by Michael Angelo; after passing through the Stanze of the Vatican, where the most perfect of painters has left his masterpieces, the spectator overwhelmed by the first, restored to a more natural equilibrium by the second, finds repose and comfort in the chapel of Nicholas V. Here, as elsewhere, the paintings of Angelico speak to the heart, and inspire love and kindness. In one edifice, divided by a few walls, we see in close proximity the works of three artists. In Michael Angelo we find power, in Raphael form, in Angelico the religious ideal. If Angelico's creations sustain comparison with those of the best Italian painters, they cannot but have been of their kind great. The practical means, the artistic language used by Angelico were therefore the most fitted to render and realise his idea. Hence idea and means in him corresponded, as they did in Raphael and Michael Angelo. The painter of the Sixtine chapel and the

on St. Lawrence, and giving him the treasure to distribute, are damaged, and the profile of the saint's face in the latter is daubed with colour. Two feigned windows flank the fresco, and on a card on that to the right is the following inscription: GREG. XIII. PONT. MAX. EGREGIAM HANC PICTURAM. A F. JOANNE ANGELICO FESULANO ORD. PRÆ. NICOLAI PATAE V. JUSU ELABORATAM AC VETUSTATE PENE CONSUMPT. INSTAURARI MANDAVIT. Sixtus II. is painted with the features of Nicholas V.

¹ This fresco is well preserved. The bases are adorned with festoons and medallions, all much repainted; but in some heads on the wall to the right the style of Benozzo may still be recognised.

painter of the chapel of Nicholas V. were at two opposite poles of art. In the first nature was violently forced for the creation of a mighty representation, often for this reason unreal. In the last a sweet self-denying spirit exaggerated the contrary defect, yet still succeeded in imparting a grand idea.

It has not been recorded that Angelico ever painted for Pisan churches, yet a picture in his best style was long preserved in San Niccolò, and is now in the town gallery of Pisa.¹ It is not on panel, as most creations are which the Dominicans sent out into the world, but on a canvas of muslin texture. It represents the Saviour giving the blessing and holding the cup. His red tunic is found with a blue sash and fringed with delicate gold ornament. The head is surrounded by a gilt nimbus, with the red cross on it.

Fra Giovanni died in Rome at the age of sixty-eight. He was buried in the church of the Minerva, where an inscription was placed over his remains, in which his profession, name, and religious vow were recorded together, with the date of 1455 as that of his death.²

*¹ Sala VI., No. 7. This picture was probably used as a banner by some confraternity. There are records of other banners painted by Fra Angelico. The Viterbese chronicler Niccola della Tuccia speaks of two banners, one of the Madonna and the other of S. Lorenzo, which were used in the procession of the Madonna della Quercia in 1467. (NICCOLA DELLA TUCCIA, *Cronache di Viterbo*, ed. G. Ciampi, Florence, 1872, p. 93.)

² "HIC JACET VENE. PICTOR

FR. JO. DE FLOR. ORD. S. P. DICATO 14LV.

NON MIHI SIT LAUDI, QUOD ERAM VELUT ALTER APELLES,	M
SED QUOD LUCRA TUIS OMNIA, CHRISTE, DABAM:	CCCC
ALTERA NAM TERRIS OPERA EXTANT, ALTERA COELO;	L
URBS ME JOANNEM FLOS TULIT ETRURIAE."	V

[* For the complete epitaph see G. DE NICOLA, *Iscrizioni romane*, etc. In the *Archivio d. soc. Rom.*, 1908, p. 219 *et seq.*]

The pictures executed by Angelico at Rome are now unknown. The Crucifixion at the Vatican of which Vasari speaks is gone, likewise the altarpiece and an Annunciation at the Minerva. But as regards the altarpiece, some critics still believe that the panel on which it is painted is only covered by the canvas of a newer picture in the chapel del Rosario. There is still an Annunciation in a chapel of the Minerva; but the kneeling figure of Cardinal Torrecremata at the side of the picture, and the fact that the company of the Annunziata was founded by him in 1460, after Angelico's death, negatives the theory of Angelico's authorship, whilst

Fra Benedetto, a brother of Angelico, took the cowl at Fiesole, and died in 1448, either in San Marco of Florence, or at San Domenico of Fiesole, having been for three years previous superior to the latter convent. He is said to have been a miniaturist, and to have adorned at the request of Cosimo de' Medici all the choral books of the church and sacristy with pictures and ornaments, a labour which lasted five years. He is also supposed to have illuminated some of the books of the convent of Fiesole, and various missals and psalters,¹ but it is doubtful now whether he was anything more than a calligrapher; and some of the miniatures

the style equally excludes Benozzo Gozzoli. [* This picture is by Antoniazzo Romano.] ALBERTINI, *Opusculum*, u.s., ed. 1886, p. 18, verso, says an entire chapel at the Minerva was painted by Fra Giovanni. *Vide* also comment, VASARI, ii., p. 532. Vasari also mentions miniatures executed at Rome, but none such exist (*ibid.*, p. 516). At Florence perished also frescoes of St. Dominic, St. Catherine of Siena, and St. Peter Martyr in and about the screen of Santa Maria Novella, frescoes in the screen chapel, and an Annunciation on canvas on the door of the organ (*ibid.*, ii., p. 507), a Madonna once belonging to Don Vincenzo Borghini; two Madonnas and a crucifix in the old Gondi (Bartolommeo) collection. Stories of the Pascal taper in Santa Maria Novella (*ibid.*, ii., p. 513). There are no miniatures of Angelico at San Marco, but many assigned erroneously, it may be, to his brother Benedetto. The choral books of San Domenico of Fiesole are most of them gone, but what remain have no miniatures. FATHER MARCHESE, however (i., p. 159), thinks Angelico painted miniatures, and mentions a missal executed for Cosimo de' Medici with admirable paintings in it. He seems, however, not certain of the authorship.

* Of the various designs attributed by different critics to Fra Angelico only the King David at the British Museum (Malcolm collection, No. 1), the St. Stephen at Windsor (No. 163), and several figures also in the Royal collection (No. 163, V.), studies for a fresco in the chapel of Nicholas V., can with certainty be attributed to him. It is probable that a Crucifixion in the Albertina collection at Vienna is also by the master, and some studies for figures in a Last Judgment at Chantilly are quite in his manner.

To the pictures by Fra Angelico mentioned in this chapter may be added: (1) a Madonna with saints and a kneeling donor in M. Edouard Aynard's collection at Lyons, a charming work, to which the owner kindly drew my attention just after the publication of the second edition of my *Fra Angelico*; (2) a Crucifixion in Professor N. Valois' collection in Paris, the knowledge of which I owe to M. Salomon Reinach; (3) Christ on the Cross, between two Saints, the property of the Confraternità del Ceppo; (4) a Madonna and Child from the collection of the King of the Belgians, now in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's collection; and (5) a Madonna and Child in the Pieve of S. Michele at Pontassiove. These two last mentioned pictures I have not seen, but competent critics have pronounced them to be by the master (see POGGI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1909, No. 2, p. 132).

¹ MARCHESE, u.s., i., p. 162 and foll.

hitherto ascribed to him are now proved to have been illuminated by Zanobi Strozzi.¹ As to the point noted in Vasari whether Fra Benedetto assisted his brother in the frescoes of San Marco,² all that can be said is, that his manner must have been so similar to Angelico's that modern criticism cannot distinguish between them.³

Angelico's pupils must be left for future chapters on the development of the Umbrian school.⁴

¹ See VASARI, ii, p. 528.

² VASARI, ii, p. 506.

³ It is probable, as we have already said, that Fra Benedetto was neither a miniaturist nor a painter, but only a scribe.

⁴ To understand the gradual development of Fra Angelico it is necessary to consider his works chronologically. His career as an artist may be divided into three periods. In the first period, the early Fiesolan period, which closes about 1430, the master is still largely under Gothic influences, and shows strong evidences of the influence of the miniaturists. Typical works of this period are the four reliquaries of S. Maria Novella, the Annunciation of Cortona and its predella, and the Coronation of the Louvre. In this period his works reveal already the artist's keen interest in the natural world, for in them we find the earliest representation of an actual landscape that is known to historians of Italian painting; but as yet Angelico is but little affected by the other leaders of the new movement, the Florentine sculptors, and Masolino and Masaccio. The second Fiesolan period, which closed in 1437, was for our master a period of accelerated transition. In such works as the S. Trinità Deposition and the Madonna of Annalena he reveals the influence both of Masolino and Masaccio; whilst in the altarpiece of S. Marco and its predella, and such frescoes as the Madonna of the Corridor and the Anunciations at San Marco, he shows how much he was influenced by the neo-classicism of Florentine sculptors and architects. In his last or Roman period he continues to develop with great rapidity. The Madonna del Bosco and the frescoes of the studio of Nicholas V.—indubitably his finest achievement—reveal a great master, who had assimilated and stamped with his own personality all that was best in the art movement of his day.

CHAPTER V

PAOLO UCCELLO

WE have seen the feeling for classic art survive the tentative efforts of the earliest centuries to carry on Christian painting with pagan models; we have traced its existence throughout the decline of the dark ages, and during the period which witnessed a deep religious spirit animate the painters of the revival. We now perceive that the antique, which the most religious of the mystics had not entirely neglected, regained an absolute sway. The worship of the literature and philosophy of Greece, which Savonarola opposed in vain, now filtered into every branch of art, and invaded both sculpture and painting. The artists of this time were probably aware that no attempt to reach the ideal could be successful without a deep and continuous study of nature. At that inexhaustible fountain they might take from each creation that which seemed most perfect, combine these parts into a splendid whole, and revive the greatness of a bygone age. Some choice spirits may have seen the goal, and tended towards it. They may have entered the road that led thither without considering the obstacles which might stand in their way. It was certainly given to none in the fifteenth century to reach it. There was still too much to be done before an ideal could be attained; and years were spent in an effort to give a forward impulse to the arts or sciences which are the concomitants of perfect painting. Some took up perspective; others, chiaroscuro; many struggled to improve the old mediums. Two very natural results followed from the efforts of the time. The study of old Greek models rested exclusively on works of the chisel. Of these the material form became impressed on the painter's eye. Sculpture thus invaded with its peculiarities the domain of painting. The demand for marbles,

and bronzes too, continued to produce men equally able with the chisel and the brush, but who imported the laws of bas-relief into painting, as Ghiberti had imported the laws of painting into bas-relief: men who sought to impart to productions of the brush the polish and sharpness that dazzle in works cut out of metal. The subjects rendered familiar by the study of the antique became fashionable; and the Bible or saintly legends no longer formed the exclusive food for artistic activity. For this invasion of the old Christian ground by mythology, the time seemed aptly chosen. The ardour of religion had truly passed away or remained confined to a class. Purely religious painting, perfected with a view to exalt and embody the lessons of a fervent faith, had sunk into the grave of Angelico, who had lived to see new generations spring up around him, unmoved by his example or careless of his honest enthusiasm. These still continued to represent religious subjects, but did not preserve the stern simplicity necessary to give them grandeur, or impress the spectator with their solemnity.

This was not all. Those who had been convinced that a study of nature, and not a mere imitation of the most perfect models, was necessary for the revival of the genius of an extinct art, were led to spend more than usual time in examining and analysing all natural appearances. In this effort, most tarried by the way, lost sight of the aim towards which the subtle knowledge of nature should have led them, and became realistic imitators, who forget that the ideal is based on selection. The characteristic features of Florentine art in the fifteenth century are thus, oblivion of the great aim which should animate every artist, a praiseworthy effort to master the various branches of perspective, light and shade, and the chemistry of painting, with a tendency to imitate the mere outer show of the antique or an unselect nature.

We shall not say that the painters of this time deserve more blame than praise. In so far as they had aims, their efforts were meritorious. The religious school which preceded them was doubtless more in the path of the truth, but had been without many of the advantages which the later labourers in the field were able to glean. Such as may think that art is

not an emanation or expression of the feeling of its time, or do not appreciate the old simplicity which made everything subordinate to a sublime Christian idea, may be right in preferring the more realistic, or naturalist school, as it has been called, of the fifteenth century. There are beauties and excellence in both.

The first painter of Florence who displayed the characteristic features which have been thus rapidly sketched is Paolo Doni, or Uccello. Born at the close of the fourteenth century, c. 1396,¹ he was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti and, as "garzone di bottega," 1407, no doubt fagged for Donatello and the other assistants² who worked the second gate of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni.³ It was thus his fortune to live at a period when Brunelleschi and Ghiberti carried on their memorable feud; when Donatello was preparing to startle his countrymen with the originality of his vehement style. It was an age in which the science of perspective was already an object of ceaseless research; in which Brunelleschi was to teach Masaccio the rudiments of that science; Ghiberti was to introduce it, in spite of all previous experience, into bas-reliefs; and Donatello was preparing to show its use in altering the natural forms of statues to suit the position in which they were intended to rest. It was no wonder, therefore, that the bias of a youth so situated should be, first to imbibe the maxims which regulate the production of bas-relief, next to master if possible those laws of perspective and foreshortening which seemed the great necessity of the time. Finally it was not unnatural that, in his attempt to apply the laws whose substance he desired to master, he should fall back upon nature as the source of all truth.

Uccello, whose works are unhappily but too scarce, or damaged at the present day, still shows us that there were more of the

¹ In four tax papers, of 1427, 1433, 1442, and 1446, Paolo gives himself a different age. In the two first he says he was born in 1397. In the third he gives the date of 1402, in the last that of 1396. A record of 1469 contains a declaration of his age and infirmities. He there again states that he was born in 1396. GAZE, *Carteggio*, i., pp. 146-7.

* Documentary evidence shows that 1397 is the more probable date. See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 217, note 1.

² We have seen that Donatello was not one of the assistants of Ghiberti.

THOMAS PATCH, *u.s.*, *La porta del Battistero di S. Giovanni*. * This book, because of its rarity, was republished by MÜNTZ in *Les archives des Arts*, Paris, 1890.

elements of the sculptor than of the painter in him. We are puzzled, however, to point out where he learnt to paint. It is well known that the sister arts were usually practised in each atelier of Florence. Ghiberti had been a painter; but we seek in vain for pictures by him or by Donatello. Uccello's works point unmistakably enough to the same source of teaching which served for Masolino and Masaccio, and is revealed in the manner of Fra Filippo. Sharing with Donatello a general contempt for select nature, he drew with a hardness of line which betrays familiarity with sculpture. But his colour, if it may be judged from the damaged creations we still possess, was fused, careful, slightly cold in shadow, but of a rosy tone in the flesh lights. He sparingly used liquid and not unpleasant tints over the grey preparations. The effect upon the spectator's eye is that of flatness. We possess pictures of his early and of his later time; the first, tentative and imperfect, revealing the course of his struggle towards a true representation of foreshortened parts and perspective lines, giving us the block, without the pliant action of bodies, full of realism and detail; the last, more masterly and perfect, with figures in good form and proportions, draped so as to develop the shape with propriety, but still reminiscent of bas-relief in their plasticity, and in the peculiar distribution of the groups and episodes.

In the first class are three out of four panels representing incidents of battle, adorning, of old, the garden of the Bartolini at Gualfonda near Florence.¹ The eagerness of rival purchasers has left but one to the Uffizi at Florence. Two others are in the ex-Campana collection at the Louvre and in the National Gallery.²

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 213.

² * Mr. Herbert Horne, in the *Monthly Review* (1901, pp. 114-36), has demonstrated that these three battle-pieces cannot be the panels of the Casa Bartolini, because (1) these panels are evidently not those that suffered restoration at the hands of Bugiardini, there being in them no trace of his hand; (2) the incidents portrayed cannot refer to the four captains whose deeds were represented—according to Vasari—in Bartolini panels; (3) because the Uffizi panel does not contain the portrait of the condottiere; (4) because Vasari distinctly states in the edition of 1550 that the Bartolini panels were painted in *chiaroscuro*. These three battles are to be identified with the panels, mentioned in a Medici inventory of 1492, which adorned a room in Cosimo's palace in the Via Larga. They represent three scenes in the same historic event, the Rotta di San

A daring boldness of action marks the knights and barded steeds in tilt which form the subject of the panel at Florence; but the conception is more praiseworthy than successful; and the effect of certain movements, such as that of a kicking horse, is ludicrous and grotesque. Again, the foreshortened position of a prostrate steed presenting his belly and heels as well as the legs of his fallen rider to the spectator, suggests the wish rather than the power to overcome a difficulty of no mean kind. Perspective of broken lances, shields, and helmets is laboriously carried out; and distant episodes of archers, men-at-arms, and dogs show that Uccello already possessed the art of perspective; but the spectator has before him the lifeless and wooden models of divers figures, their geometrical substance without the final dressing that should give life to the form and its action. Added to this, sharp outlines cut out the figures; and the injury done by time and restoring to the colours renders the whole production of less interest to the lover of good pictures than to the critic. The piece serves, in fact, as a medium for a show of a knowledge in foreshortening, whereas perspective should have no other aim than to make the picture true and productive of a natural illusion.¹ One can fancy Donatello saying, at sight of such a work, "This perspective of yours makes you drop the certain for the uncertain. These are things which can only be of use to a workman in marquetry."² It is not uninteresting, however, to note at the outset that Uccello attacked at once a series of difficulties. He not only revelled in the details of armour, saddlery, and plumes which marked the panoplies of his time, but he studied horses, dogs, and birds. His partiality to the latter is the origin

Romano (1432). In the middle was the Uffizi panel, on the left the picture of the National Gallery, on the right that of the Louvre. In the panel formerly on the left Niccolò da Tolentino, the Florentine condottiere, directs the attack against the Sienese. In the panel that was in the centre the Sienese are in retreat. In the panel that was on the right, now in the Louvre, Micheleccio Attendolo leads the charge of the Florentine troops.

¹ This picture (No. 52) is signed on a shield to the left "PAULI VOCELLI OPUS." Bugiardini restored this and the remaining panels; but did more injury than good. The surface is blackened. See also VASARI, ii., p. 214.

* See note 2, p. 109. This panel is not one of those restored by Bugiardini.

² VASARI, ii., pp. 205-6.

of his nickname.¹ He even attempted to depict the strangest animals; and Vasari relates of him that, in the ceiling of the Loggia de' Peruzzi at Florence, he figured the elements as four animals: the earth as a mole, water as a fish, and fire as a salamander. He should have symbolised air as a chameleon, but deceived by a similarity of structure in the name, he substituted for the lesser creature a camel.²

In the next piece, at the Louvre,³ in which a leader in armour, on a sable horse, and with a high hat, has drawn his sword, and prepares to follow a first line of knights, starting with couchant lances, the action is more calm, yet the forms are still wooden. The movement of the footmen in the intervals of the cavalry are true; but, in them, as in the group of riders in armour at the right side, there is still a rigidity approaching that of stone. The best of these panels is that of the National Gallery,⁴ representing the battle of S. Egidio, fought by Malatesta, who appears, with his youthful nephew Galeazzo at his side, issuing the order to advance.⁵ Without any colour in consequence of abrasion, without swing in the drawing, because of the sharpness and broken quality of the outlines, without dignity, because the figures are feeble and lean, and the costume of the time is not picturesque, this piece may still command attention. The heads of Malatesta and Galeazzo are modelled in soft and well-fused tones of rosy hue and spare impasto; the shadows are slightly cold, but the whole is executed in the most careful style after the technical method observable in the works of Masolino and Fra Filippo. Galeazzo in profile, a boy of fair hair and complexion gorgeously attired in a gold-embroidered dress,⁶ is a happy effort of the

*¹ Horne's theory that the word VOCELLI in the above signature stands for VOCELLINI, and that Paolo belonged to the Florentine family of that name, is probably without foundation. The signature on the painting in the Duomo and the *portate al catasto* lend no support to it. In fact, it is certain that the abbreviation above the letter L stands for the other omitted L.

² VASARI, ii., p. 215.

*³ No. 1273.

⁴ No. 583.

*⁵ See the note above.

⁶ Note in the execution of details of costume that the stuff and gold embroideries are glazed with a general warm and fluid tint.

artist's pencil. Uccello possibly had but to copy nature to succeed, for the youth was evidently handsome; and it is suggestive of this belief that when Uccello painted figures in which he was not bound to produce a portrait, the forms of head which he preferred were round and plump in external outline, pinched and small in the more minute detail.¹ As to the action—the shape of steeds and their riders—the profuse finery of dress, ornaments, and distances of landscape—the character of this example is not essentially different from that of the rest of the series to which it belongs.

We have no means of ascertaining the exact time when these pictures were executed; although the subject of one of them, that of the battle of S. Egidio, points to a date subsequent to 1416;² nor are we rich in anecdotes of Uccello's private life. Vasari's description suggests the idea of a man much worn by study, toiling at night over perspective problems, earning little and not producing much.³ The anecdote of Uccello's flight from the monks of S. Miniato because they fed him exclusively on cheese⁴ might, however, lead to the belief that hermit's fare was at least not habitual with him; whilst the facts, that he made a will as early as 1425, and possessed a house worth a hundred florins in 1434, sufficiently prove that, albeit his fame might not be great, yet his means were ample.⁵ It is clear, from his returns to the income-tax office, that he lived at Florence, with but little interruption, until 1446;⁶ and well-founded doubts may therefore be urged against the statement of Vasari, that Uccello

¹ Something in the drawing of this picture makes it reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo. The colour suggests the same idea, being laid in with a liquid brush, of a flat but golden tone, where not abraded.

² We know from the same Medici inventory that two other pictures of Uccello, as well as one by Pesellino, adorned the same room in Cosimo's palace, where were the three panels representing the Rotta di S. Romano. It has been suggested that Pesellino began the decoration of the room, which was interrupted by his death in 1457. In that case these works of Uccello date from 1457-8. In any case they were painted posterior to 1432, the date of the battle of S. Romano.

³ VASARI, ii., pp. 204-5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁵ GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., pp. 146-7, gives the original records: Uccello's house was in Via della Scala.

⁶ Income-tax returns for 1427, 1433, 1442, and 1446 are mentioned by GAYE, *u.s.*, and that of 1434 is given in full.

accompanied Donatello in 1444 to Padua.¹ Yet we may not deny that Uccello, at some period in his life, was in that city;² for the Anonimo (Morelli) notes that the frescoes of the Palace of the Vitaliani were by him.³ About 1436 Uccello completed a portrait of the English condottiere, Hawkwood, in S. M. del Fiore at Florence. It did not meet with approval from the council of the works; and a record of that year "orders the capo maestro to take down the equestrian figure which is not properly painted by P. Uccello, and requires the artist to repaint it in terra verde,"⁴ or dead colour. Whether the order was obeyed, or whether the figure now in S. M. del Fiore be the one which was disapproved, is immaterial. It was not unlikely that the critics of the time should have been struck by a peculiarity which has since been stigmatised by Vasari,⁵ and which has given rise to long comments from more modern critics. This peculiarity lies in the action given to the horse on which Hawkwood rides, unnatural, according to Vasari, because the steed only rests on one fore and one hind leg, unnatural perhaps, according to the judgment of the council of S. M. del Fiore, but masterly and true to nature in fact, being indeed but a counterpart in drawing of the action given by Donatello to the horse of Gattamelata at Padua.

Uccello's purpose was, in obedience to instructions, to represent Hawkwood in full panoply as he might have appeared in marble, had the provision made in 1393 for the erection of a monument to his memory⁶ been carried out. Being painted in green earth

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 214. We have minute records of Donatello's stay in Padua, of the sums paid him for works at the Santo, of the pupils and assistants that were with him. The name of Uccello does not appear in any of these records. See *La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, 4to, Padua, by PADRE BERNARDO GONZATI, i., caps. iv. and vi., and the proofs in the *Documenti* appended.

* ² We know now for a certainty that Uccello's stay in Venice lasted from 1425—the year in which he executed a St. Peter in mosaic for the façade of St. Mark's—until 1432. See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 204, note.

³ ANONIMO, u.s., p. 23. Uccello here painted figures of giants for a ducat apiece.

⁴ The original provision for a monument to Hawkwood was made in 1393 (GAYE, u.s., i., p. 536).

⁵ VASARI, ii., p. 212.

⁶ See *postea*, p. 114, note 1.

it would naturally preserve the appearance of stone; being drawn by Uccello with the same attention to the laws of optics which had dictated to Donatello the proportions of his St. Mark in Orsanmichele, it might have induced the spectator to believe that his glance was truly directed towards a natural creation of plastic art. The beholder sees in fact an imitation: first, of a stone sepulchre leaning on brackets high up on the wall and properly drawn as if seen from below; secondly, a pedestal resting on the sepulchre; and thirdly, the profile of a stepping horse on which Hawkwood with the baton of command rides with security and ease. If executed in 1436, this work proves that Uccello was thus early master of his craft, and far advanced beyond the period of groping and trial which witnessed the production of the foregoing pieces.¹ Natural in movement, broadly designed, as well as nobly conceived, executed with consistent power, this statue of Hawkwood reveals Uccello possessor of the arts of foreshortening and perspective, and conscious of human and brute forms in their best proportions. It shows us the high standard of scientific knowledge which had been attained by Florentine painters about the middle of the fifteenth century;² but, above all, it displays Uccello's style founded essentially upon the study of statuary corrected by the study of nature.

In other examples, such as the frescoes of the cloisters in S. M. Novella, where bas-relief is again imitated not only by the use of dead colour, but, as in bas-relief, by the distribution of the scenes into distinct parts within given spaces, Uccello discloses still more concretely the various phases of his acquirements and

*¹ From documents in the archives of the Opera del Duomo we know that Uccello was summoned to repaint the figure of the condottiere in the same place where it had first been painted in 1395-6 by Angiolo Gaddi e Pesello, and that he finished the work, then repainted for the second time, on August 31 of that year (1436), having received the second commission on July 6. See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 212, note.

² This piece, originally executed in fresco, has been since transferred to canvas, and is somewhat damaged by the operation.

* The fresco was restored in 1524 by Lorenzo di Credi. See VASARI, iv., p. 568, note 5. The background, the saddle and bridle, are red. The painter's name may still be read: "PAULI UCCELLI OPUS."

In S. M. del Fiore, Uccello also painted the face of the clock inside the church (VASARI, ii., pp. 212-13). Four heads at the angles of the square circumscribing the dial may still be traced, but they are so damaged that they give no clue to the master's style.

inherent defects. Without poetic thought, he subjects incidents hitherto represented with religious tenderness and feeling to a coarser contact with humanity. He reminds us of the imperfections of ordinary men whose form and action he realises with hard and unchoice character, yet the plastic forms accuse a fruitful study of nature, with recurrent reminiscences of the antique—fair proportions and real bone and muscle beneath broad draperies. Perspective is carried to a high level of perfection in its application to animate and inanimate objects, and an improved artfulness is visible in the mode of rendering projections of shadows.

The subjects of the frescoes in the cloisters of S. M. Novella are numerous.

Starting from the space nearest the entrance from the cloister into the church, the eye first glances (left) at the Animal Creation, (right) the Creation of Man in the lunette. In the first the Eternal of human size, in copious drapery and grave attitude, is surrounded by animals of various kinds. In the second, parted from the first by a rock, the Eternal, again, advances and helps Adam to rise. In the lower course of this arched space are traces of the form of Eve and of the Father, with the Temptation to the right.¹ The second lunette contains the Expulsion and "Adam and Eve labouring by sweat of their brow." In the lower course is the Sacrifice and the Death of Abel. The third lunette and its lower course rudely represent the Building of the Ark and the Procession of God's creatures; and they suggest either that Uccello had no part in their production, or that some inferior painter renewed them at a later time.²

Far more interesting is the fourth lunette, of the Deluge, in the upper part of which angels and monsters seem to urge the elements to the destruction of everything on the earth's surface. On the right floats

¹ Part of the intonaco in the creation of animals has fallen and much that Vasari describes is gone (VASARI, ii., p. 209). The Creation of Adam is better preserved, the most perfect indeed as regards condition of the whole series. The trees in the distance, originally painted in red, are spoiled by retouching. This and other backgrounds are originally water-colour, not fresco. In the Creation of Eve there are but traces of the upper part of the outline of the Creator in profile, and of the form of Eve. Adam is gone. In the Temptation one still sees on the left the outline of Adam and a serpent about the tree. The latter has a human head of a pleasing regular profile and not in dead colour like the rest. On the right, Eve holds the apple. The distance is red.

² VASARI notes that "two scenes are by another hand" (ii., p. 209).

the ark in turbid waters, a lofty edifice of wooden beams, at whose window Noah receives the dove. A similar edifice floats to the left, whilst, between the two, various episodes, incident to a vast and universal inundation, are depicted. In the distance, a thunderbolt rends an oak. Nearer, and amongst other scenes of anguish, one may note a naked figure on a float in friendly contact with a bear, both determined to repel a lion who swims towards them. A figure to the left of this strives to gain a footing on the steps of the floating edifice. More in front to the right, a naked wretch grasps with the energy of despair the sides of a barrel in which he is floating. A woman before him supports an aged man on the back of a swimming buffalo. To her right an erect figure in full draperies is grasped at the feet by a drowning man. The upper part of the body of a dead child is on the water near the foreshortened frame of one, face upwards, presenting his feet to the spectator. A crow pecks out the eyes of one of the dead; and a buoyant corpse lies supine on the billow, with head and shoulders to the beholder. On the left foreground, a naked man on a horse threatens with a sword one in a similar condition, defending himself with a club. Between them a tired wretch still paddles on his back. Pressed to the side of the ark by the wind which glues his wet garments to his frame, stands another victim of the elements.¹

Noah's Sacrifice, in the next lower course, can be traced in a few parts only. The figure of the Creator, appearing in air with His head away from the spectator, is a mere outline. One sees further the heads of persons kneeling about an altar, and a rainbow. Then comes the "Ebriety of Noah," where the patriarch lies on the ground, foreshortened; and his son stands over him, about to cover his nakedness. In the rear, and in the centre of the picture, another son starts back in surprise; and, on the left, Shem points at the prostrate frame of his father. A trellis with grapes is behind Shem, a cabin, with two casks of wine,² behind the central group. It is a pity that this fresco, which

¹ This fresco is not without damage. The drowned child on the right is half repainted, the figure whose eyes are pecked out by the crow is repainted with the bird itself, on lines different from the original ones. The figure in the distance to the left, creeping up the steps, is retouched. The foreshortened corpse on the right, with its head to the spectator, is in a similar condition. Besides this, whole pieces of colour are new. * These as well as some others of the better frescoes were recently (1906-7) saved from complete ruin by Prof. Domenico Fiscoli, who transferred them to a lining of galvanized wire netting.

² In the trellis is the outline of a figure. Vasari pretends that the perspective of the casks is incorrect, but the accuracy of his remarks in this respect cannot now be tested.

Vasari praises and criticises, should be much injured. The figure of Shem is preserved, with the exception of a part of the face, shoulder, and right hand. The upper part of the central figure remains, with part of the head and shoulder of that covering the nakedness of Noah.¹

Injured as these frescoes have been, a careful analysis of their parts may yield some fruitful observations. The conception of Adam's Creation reveals a new realism, an effort to show, not a creative act resulting from a mere enforcement of will, but a material exertion of physical force. Adam does not move alone, and at the command of God; but the Creator takes him by the hand and helps him to rise; and the spectator unmistakably notes the muscular exertion which is necessary for the performance of the action. The nude of Adam is in fact a realistic study of a muscular and well-proportioned nude, neglected somewhat in the drawing, chiefly of the extremities, but rendered with a plasticity reminiscent of statuary. A breeze plays through the broad draperies of the Eternal, the folds of whose garment still show, with some festooning, the principal masses of the flesh beneath them.² But that which betrays unmistakably the education of Uccello is the lozenge frame with its chequered black and white pattern, and the red background.³

Uccello finds means to represent, in the deluge, motion and irresistible force, the rush of the wind, the fury of the elements, and the helplessness of man. He does not attain the highest tragic awfulness, but he combines much that contributes to it. In this composition, especially, appears his tendency to import into painting the laws of distribution habitual to the sculptor of bas-reliefs. He divided his scene into three great parts, joining them well together for the sake of unity and introducing a strong realism into the incidents. His power of keeping the human form, even when draped, before the spectator's eye is shown in the figure clinging to the ark and pressed to its side by the force of the wind. The clammy garments show the fleshy parts below,

¹ Thus it is clear that the whole of the figure of Noah is new.

² The meandering line of the drapery skirts is a remnant of the teaching of Ghiberti.

³ The background, though red like the sky (repainted), is simple in its mass of rock. The foreground is a meadow with flowers.

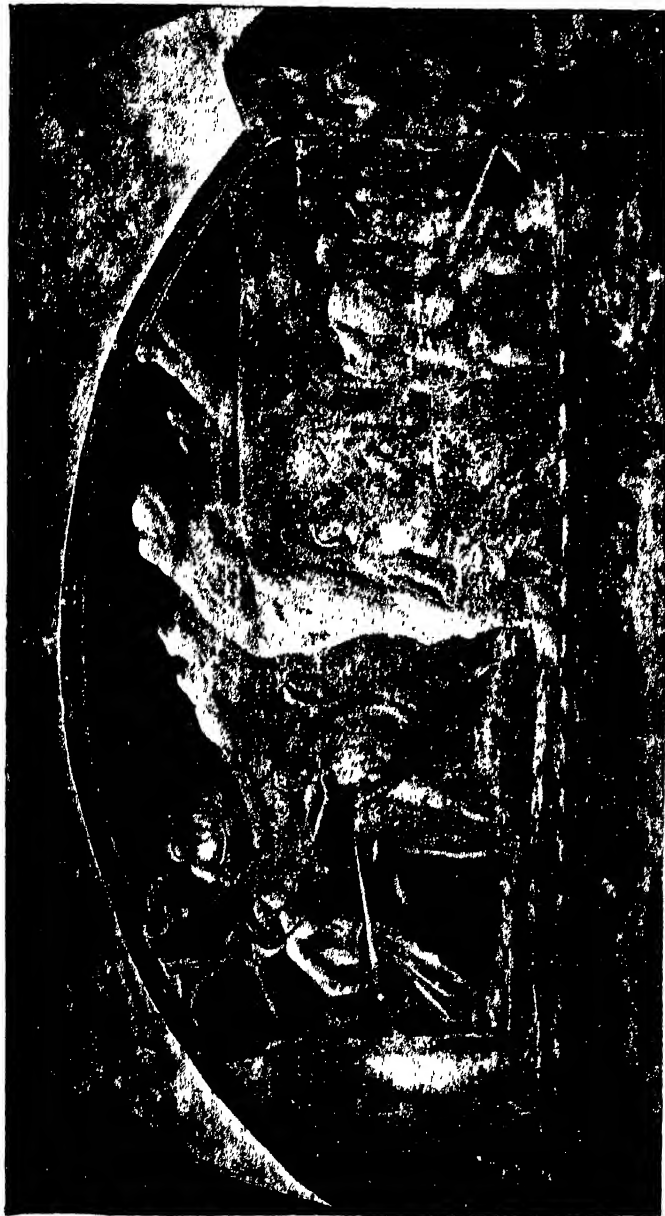
and the gale makes the folds flap again. Here, too, may be noticed Uccello's accuracy in rendering the projection of shadows; for, though the storm is in full rage, the sun still shines through an opening in the clouds. As to perspective and anatomy, sufficient is to be found in this one fresco for tracing the exact picture of Uccello's talent, and for gaining the conviction that he had mastered the problem of retreating lines to various vanishing points on a common horizon, or in the definition of circles and curves at different distances and on numerous planes. His masterly foreshortening in floating corpses must have astonished the men of his time. His knowledge of the forms of animals, native and foreign, is equally apparent and curious.

The daring with which Uccello depicted the Eternal, descending with His head away from the beholder, justly surprised Vasari. Its counterpart is to be found, in Uccello's century, only in a similar figure by Piero della Francesca in the fresco of the Dream of Constantine at S. Francesco of Arezzo.

In the Ebriety of Noah, which seems the last of the series, Uccello displays greater boldness of hand; but he still preserves characteristic peculiarities, such as oval heads with angularly lined features. The figures are elastic in movement, firm in tread; and the colour, where preserved, is well modelled and softly fused in the system already noticed. The figure of Shem is, according to Vasari, a portrait of Uccello's friend, the painter Dello.¹ That painter had wandered in his youth into distant countries and had settled in Spain. He returned, however, in 1446 to Florence, where he remained two years. He was at the time about forty-two,² and that is the apparent age of Shem in the last of Uccello's frescoes. We may assume therefore that the

*¹ There exists a good school copy of this portrait (?) in the Albertina collection at Vienna. Of several designs that Vasari attributed to Uccello which were in his *Libro* there remain at the Uffizi but three which can be given to him with any certitude—a sketch for the portrait of Hawkwood, a cavalier whose attitude suggests a study for St. George slaying the dragon, and a man's head in profile.

² Dello was born about 1404. His life shall be sketched later, with the assistance of new documents discovered by Signor Gaetano Milanese. See *Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, u.s., 1860, third quarter, p. 10. These paintings were executed with funds left for the purpose as far back as the year 1348 by Torino di Baldese, a merchant of Florence. See the Commentary on the *Life* of Dello in VASARI, u.s., ii., p. 160.



ADAM AND EVE EXPELLED FROM PARADISE

By PAOLO UCCELLO

From a picture in the Cloister of S. Maria Novella, Florence

cloister of S. Maria Novella was painted by Uccello about 1446-8.

The historian may regret that he cannot record the time when Donatello, Brunelleschi, and Antonio Manetti were gathered together by Uccello as in a gallery with Giotto at their head. The genius of Giotto, it is clear, was still acknowledged by the painters of the fifteenth century. The sources of his power were beyond the ken of the single artist, it is true; but the realist painter and sculptor, the daring architect, the mathematician, who helped by science the solution of perspective problems, were willing, it would seem, to admit that a combination of gifts had found place in the early Florentine master, and entitled him to stand at their head. Little of the original work remains in the series of portraits of these men, now in the Louvre under the name of Uccello.¹ The impression which it creates is that of an old copy of the time of Pontormo.² The inscription is modern. Yet the portraits correspond with Vasari's descriptions and the woodcuts in his original edition; and a close inspection may permit the critic to admit that the picture is a genuine one of the time, and really by Uccello.

A wide divergence of thought and of talent separated Paolo from Masaccio. But one would have thought the latter not unworthy to be classed amongst the geniuses whom we have but now seen brought together in one picture. Some concealed record may yet come to light, from which we shall learn that Masaccio and Uccello were not unacquainted. We have it indeed on fair authority that the latter painted the predella of an altarpiece in S. Maria Maggiore at Florence, of which the principal panel was by Masaccio. But this, and many other works of interest produced during a long course of years, have been totally lost to posterity.³

¹ No. 1272.

² So completely is the picture repainted.

³ "L'antiqua chiesa di S. M. Maggiore fu . . . : nella quale e una tavola di Masaccio: la predella et l' archo di sopra e di Paolo Uccello" (ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 12). Vasari also mentions a work by Uccello (ii., p. 206), saying it was a fresco in a chapel at the side of the door leading to S. Giovanni, representing the Annunciation. In the ceiling, Uccello painted the four Evangelists. RICHIA (iii., p. 281) notes the existence of a picture by Uccello in S. M. Maggiore on a pilaster to the left of the portal. All these works, however, have

Uccello in his later years was invited by the brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Urbino to paint an altarpiece. His name did not escape the attentive Giovanni Santi, who gives him a good word in his *Elogio*; ¹ whilst the records of the brotherhood contain items of payments to him for his work and for his journey from Florence in 1468.² The altarpiece is no longer to be found; and there is no authentic picture of the master in Urbino. Yet in St. Agatha of that city a predella was long preserved as a part of an altarpiece executed by Giusto of Ghent. It may now be seen in the college of the R. P. Scolopi contiguous to St. Agatha. The subjects, six in number, are derived from a legendary description of the theft of a pyx.³

First we note, in a room, a dame, at a counter, presenting, apparently to a silversmith, the pyx with the wafer of the host upon it. Next comes a scene in two parts. To the left is an interior where the silver of the pyx is smelting on a fire to the right. Blood flows out of the pot, and the miracle seems to fill the purchaser with a very natural terror. The female, with two children, stands by as if in thought. Outside, in the second part, soldiers are bursting the door. In the third compartment the pyx, miraculously entire, is carried in procession to the church from which it was stolen. The fourth represents the guilty

disappeared. The same fate has attended the paintings of Uccello in the Spedale di Lemmo (VASARI, ii., p. 206); in the convent of Annalena, now razed (*ibid.*, ii., p. 206); scenes from the life of St. Francis in S. Trinità; the monochrome frescoes, since whitewashed, in the cloister of S. Miniato; the altar dossal in the Cappella de' Pugliesi at the Carmine (*ibid.*, ii., p. 206-8); canvases representing animals, in the Casa Medici (*ibid.*, ii., p. 208); scenes from the life of St. Benedict in the Monastery of the Angeli (*ibid.*, ii., p. 213); and an Incredulity of St. Thomas in the Mercato Vecchio (*ibid.*, ii., p. 216).

* In 1434 he painted a cartoon for a window of the chapel of S. Zenobi in the Duomo of Florence. In 1443 he made other cartoons, an Annunciation, a Nativity, a Resurrection, and an Ascension, for the circular windows of the cupola of the same church. In 1452 he painted a portrait of Beato Andrea Corsini in the Libreria of the Duomo. MILANESI, in VASARI, ii., p. 211, note 2.

¹ See the passage in PUNGILEONI, *Elogio Storico di Gio. Santi*, 8vo, Urbino, 1822, p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 74. The dates of payments are August 10 and October 31, 1468.

* He worked for the company of the Corpus Domini from August, 1467, to October of the same year. But his sojourn in Urbino is also attested by a document of 1465, E. CALZINI, *Urbino e i suoi monumenti*, p. 143, and note 3.

³ This predella is now in the Palazzo Ducale. It is reproduced in A. LIPPARINI, *Urbino*, Bergamo, 1903, pp. 80, 81.

persons brought to the place of execution by a train of soldiers on horse-back, in the dress of the period, and blowing trumpets. At one side the female awaits the cord at the gallows. The fifth part is confined to the burning of the receivers of the stolen silver at the stake. The last scene shows the dead body of one of the guilty ones swollen in death, angels carrying away the wafer of the sacrament, and devils waiting for the soul of the criminal.

This predella was evidently ordered by the wealthy patron of some altar in St. Agatha. His arms cover a shield above the chimney in the interior of the first piece of the series. In this, as in all the parts, the perspective is remarkably correct. The figures are steady of tread and drawn with much fidelity from nature. The style of Uccello is displayed in the general oval character of the full faces and their small pinched features, in the slender necks and frames; in the vulgar individuality which reveals merely a patient study of nature, and in the hard cutting lines which minutely and sharply define the forms. The drawing of the horses in the processions is equally characteristic of the master. The colour, though abraded, is still warm, of an equal, and therefore monotonous, value of tone; and recalls to mind that of the early battle pieces of Gualfonda. Copious details of costume and ornament confirm the impression that Uccello is the painter of this piece.

In the same manner, though executed with less power, is a Virgin and Child, with attendant figures, in possession of the Duke of Verdura at Palermo.¹ The Virgin's face seems cast in the mould peculiar to Fra Filippo. The colour is transparent and golden; and the picture recalls to mind those which usually pass in galleries for productions of Baldovinetti or Pesellino.²

Uccello was seventy-two years of age when he visited Urbino. In the following year he was unable to move. A placet is still in existence in which he declares to the Uffiziali of Florence (August 9, 1469) that he is aged seventy-three, that his wife

*¹ This collection is now dispersed.

² Gold ground. The Virgin, half-length, holds the infant erect on a stage before her. Her right hand grasps the stage. On each side is a vulgar angel whose ornaments and wings are engraved in the gold ground.

Mona Tomasa di Benedetto Malifici is infirm, that his son Donato is sixteen years old, that he, Paolo, is old, without means, and unable to work.¹ Uccello probably died soon after this, and was buried in S. M. Novella, contrary to the clause of his early will, which declared that he desired to be buried in S. Spirito.²

His genuine works are not to be found in public galleries.³

The name of Dello is connected with no existing works except those of the cloister in S. Maria Novella. We shall therefore proceed to notice them, prefacing the few remarks which they suggest by new facts lately discovered by Dottore Gaetano Milanese, and correcting with their assistance the slight and confused story of Vasari.⁴

¹ GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 147.

² *Ibid.*

Richa states that he was buried in S. M. Novella. (See *Chiese Flor.*, iii., p. 78). Vasari says Uccello died in 1432. This may be a misprint for 1472 (ii., p. 217).

* From an obituary note we learn that he died in December, 1475, and that he was buried in his father's grave at S. Spirito. See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 217, note 1.

³ In one of the cabinets of the Munich Gallery (No. 557) is a St. Jerome assigned to Uccello, a feeble work of the time of Fra Filippo without sufficient character to justify the critic in assigning it to so good a master.

A figure (life-size) of Cardinal Nicola of Prato is catalogued under Uccello's name in the Galleria Comunale at Prato (No. V.). This common production of the fifteenth century is not by him, and can indeed only be a copy or adaptation from an older likeness of a cardinal who died early in the fourteenth century.

* Entirely authentic is the Midnight Hunt of the University Museum at Oxford (No. 28), perhaps the best preserved of Uccello's existing works, and also the finest in perspective and composition. The picture is reproduced to illustrate an article of GAMBA in the *Rivista d'Arte* of 1909, No. 1, pp. 24, 25. Less forcible in design is the St. George Slaying the Dragon in Madame André's collection in Paris (BERENSON, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, p. 140), of which another version exists in the Lanckoronski Collection.

Of the bottega of Uccello is a picture in oils and on canvas in the Magazzino of the Uffizi, representing certain facts in the lives of saints, members of an order (see GAMBA, *art. cit.*). But we do not agree with those who give to the same hand a picture in the gallery of Karlsruhe (No. 4). This painting seems to be by a Florentine of a later date. Of the bottega of Uccello is a cassone picture, of considerable archæological and topographical interest, in the Holden Collection at Cleveland, U.S.A. (No. 6). M. LOGAN, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 2.

⁴ The life of Dello is in VASARI, ii., p. 147, *et seq.* The notices of Dottore G. Milanese are in *Giorn. Stor.*, 1862, pp. 10-12, 25-9.

Dello was the son of Niccolò Delli, a tailor, and Orsa his wife, and was born about the year 1404 (the positive date of the event being confused by the contradictory statements of three different income-tax returns, of 1427, 1430, and 1433). Vasari's assertion that he was apprenticed to the double profession of painter and sculptor seems contradicted by the fact that the works in terra-cotta which are assigned to him are proved to have been by Bicci di Lorenzo, but is confirmed by records at Siena.¹ Dello had hardly entered his twentieth year when Niccolò Delli his father, being keeper (1424) of the fortress of Montecerro, in the Tuscan Romagna, surrendered it to the forces of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. For this treason, as it was then considered, he was sentenced (*in contumaciam*) to death on the 21st of November, and fled to Siena. Here Dello succeeded in finding employment, and executed a brass figure that struck the time on the top of the tower of the Palazzo.² From Siena, Niccolò and his sons proceeded to Venice (about 1427), where they remained some time; Dello causing his name to be registered *pro forma* in the guild of the Speciali at Florence (1433).³ Dissatisfied with his new residence, and perhaps unable to earn, Dello emigrated to Spain, and is proved by the income-tax return of his mother Orsa (Florence, 1442) to have lived in Seville for many years. His fortune was such, that in the course of time he gained wealth and the title of "Cavaliere," and on his return to Florence he claimed and obtained from his native city (1447, new style) the recognition of that title.⁴ He returned to Spain in 1448,⁵ and is recorded by Filarete as still living in 1464-6,⁶ the period in which the *Trattato d'architettura* was written.

The twenty-four episodes of the Genesis which Dello is said to have painted in the cloister of S. M. Novella are all more or less defective in style and execution, and the last twelve

¹ See *antea*. The works in question were in S. Maria Nuova and the church SS. Dodici Apostoli. VASARI, ii., p. 147.

² MILANESI, *Doc. Sen.*, u.s., ii., p. 390.

³ "1432-33. XXVI. Januarii Pro Dello Nicolai Delli Pictore populi S. Fred. de Flor" (*Giorn. Stor.*, u.s., p. 11).

⁴ The record by which Dello or Daniello received the "insegna della libertà e del popolo" at Florence is in *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 27. It is dated June 27, 1446.

⁵ Vasari states that Dello returned to Spain because he could not bear the raillery of those who had known him in a humbler character than that of "Cavaliere" (ii., p. 151).

*⁶ Not 1464-6, but 1460-4.

slightly differ from the first; but the same spirit pervades all the compositions of the series.*¹ Some scenes indeed are not without interest, but it is not possible to find one in which a petty conception, a rude and hasty execution are not combined. The frescoes seem the weak production of a man who followed, and made but slight approach to, the manner of Masolino, and who contrasts most unfavourably with his competitor in this very cloister, Paolo Uccello. They may have been carried out by an artist of incompletely formed talents. They seem incompatible with the supposition that their execution should have been entrusted to Dello after he had earned fame in Spain and returned to Florence in 1446. It may be true that Dello's portrait was painted by Uccello when he completed the series of the Genesis. The portrait now pointed out as that of the Spanish "Cavaliere" is aged enough for Dello's years at that time, but the existence of the likeness does not help the critic to decide the question at issue.

A picture which might do honour to Dello, were it proved to be by him, is that exhibited under his name in the collection of Mr. Barker in London.² It represents the Adoration of the Magi,³ and displays, in richness of composition, in details of costume and landscape, a style that might suggest the classification of the painter amongst those who held the manner of the Peselli. Though embrowned by time, the picture is fine and far superior to the frescoes of the cloister of S. M. Novella. Its technical execution points to a realistic artist of the middle of the fifteenth century whom we should not wonder to find issuing from the Peselli's school.

Vasari assigns to Dello the usual industry of painting chests and furniture. He even says that he thus adorned a room in the house of Giovanni de' Medici, but it would be hard to point

*¹ Torino di Baldese, a Florentine merchant, left in his will, dated July, 1348, a legacy to Fra Jacopo Passavanti, to pay for painting scenes from the Old Testament in the Chiostro Verde. It is, therefore, probable that Uccello and Dello repainted trecento frescoes that had perished.

*² This picture is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 95A). It is now given to Pisanello in the official catalogue.

³ A round.

out any works of this kind at the present day. Dello's Pietà in the SS. Annunziata, which is noticed by Vasari,¹ cannot be found, nor do we know of the existence of frescoes painted by him (according to Richa) in S. Agata.²

¹ VASARI, *il.*, p. 147.

² RICHA, *Chiese*, v., p. 285.

CHAPTER VI

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO AND DOMENICO VENEZIANO

CONTEMPORARY with Uccello, and celebrated not less for his talent than for a certain legendary violence of temper, lived Andrea del Castagno, an artist of considerable power, clothed in a hard and rough bark of rustic coarseness, but a good fellow, as his pet name of Andreino¹ indicates, and one to whom the study of drawing and of nature owed some improvement in the fifteenth century.

Born in 1390, a few years before Uccello, and called del Castagno, either because the poor hamlet of that name in the Mugello witnessed his entry into the world, or because he lived there in childhood,² his father Bartolommeo di Simone was a labourer and small proprietor of S. Andrea a Linari in the country of Florence.³ An orphan in early years,⁴ he tended the flock of a cousin by Castagno, and would probably have spent his days in rustic labours, but that he stumbled by chance upon an itinerant painter at work in a tabernacle, and, fired by the wish to study the artistic profession, he began scratching rude figures on walls and stones. He thus attracted the attention of Bernardetto de' Medici, who took him to Florence, where he entered upon his

¹ He is called Andrein by Gio. Santi in his *Elogio* (PUNGILIONI, *Elog. Stor.*, u.s., p. 73), Andreino by ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 13, and Andreino degl' Impiccati by FILARETE in the dedication to his MS. *Trattato d'Architettura*. (See also GAETANO MILANESI in *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, an. vi., 1862, p. 7.)

² Andrea came from Castagno, near Scarperia, and not from S. Martino a Castagno as Milanese believed.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2. The date of Andrea's birth, the place and his father's name are given by the painter in his first return to the income tax at Florence in 1430.

⁴ Mr. Horne gives reasons for believing that Castagno was born about 1410. See HORNE, *Burlington Magazine*, 1905, April, pp. 66-9, and June, pp. 222-30.

⁵ In his return he cannot give the name of his mother. *Giornale Stor.*, u.s.

apprenticeship.¹ His path in life was not strewn with flowers. Andrea tells us, in 1430, that it was true, he possessed a hut and two small pieces of land in his father's village, but he was poor, very poor; had in Florence neither bed nor board nor lodging, and no worldly substance; and that he had been recently discharged from the Hospitals of S. Maria Nuova and the Pinzocheri, after four months' illness.² He lived to paint in after years in one of the refuges which had sheltered him, and to make for himself a name as a man of energy and talent. A few years before his death, he owned a house in the Via de' Fibbiai at Florence and led an orderly married life.³

Some pretend that in his youth he was bound apprentice to Masaccio;⁴ others, that he only studied Masaccio's manner.⁵ His style tells us that he was a realistic imitator of common nature; that he was not a pupil of Masaccio, Masolino, or Angelico; but that he may have issued from the school which produced Paolo Uccello and Pesellino. Incorrect in drawing, he still possessed style; and the quality of his power was akin to that of Uccello. The frescoes of the Casa Pandolfini at Legnaia,*⁶ and the equestrian picture of Nicola di Tolentino, which is the last of his productions,⁷ would alone prove this. Yet these works also show that Andrea del Castagno was a realist of a lower nature than Uccello. His mode of drawing reveals a bold hurtling decision; his draperies have a sculptural character; and his perspective is not without science. The peculiar vigour which distinguished Donatello seems to have existed in the coarser frame of Andrea; and a natural inclination might well unite two men such as they were in the bonds of friendship. Vasari seems to have been exactly in the truth when he described Andrea as "gagliardissimo."⁸ The action of his figures was in truth full of energy and swing. But, in expression, he was one of the most vulgar of the realists. As a colourist, he was distanced by almost all his contemporaries, and never produced anything but hard, raw, and unpleasant

¹ VASARI, ii., pp. 668, 669.

² *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴ BALDINUCCI, u.s., v., 329.

⁵ LANZI, u.s., i., 80.

⁶ See *postea*, p. 129.

⁷ This is the last of the existing works of the master, but the Cenacolo of the refectory of S. Maria Nuova was painted in 1457.

⁸ VASARI, ii., p. 669.

work. Yet the strength that was in the man is still imposing; and Castagno deserves the place which he occupies in art history.

Two Crucifixions which we owe to him are in the monastery of the Angeli at Florence.¹ One in the first cloister represents the Saviour of life-size, crucified between the Virgin and St. Benedict, and the Evangelist and S. Romualdo, with the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. It discloses to the spectator Christ, of good proportions and action, well studied in the nude, not too vulgar in face, and of a type which bears comparison with that of the Redeemer in the Trinity by the Peselli lately purchased for the National Gallery.² Not a little striking at the same time is the resemblance of character between this wall-painting and an altarpiece gable representing the same subject by Piero della Francesca, now in the Spedale at Arezzo. A common realism and technical method appear to unite the two painters; and this is apparent not only in the principal figure, but in the Virgin, which both artists represented in vulgar lamentation with her cheek resting on her hand.³ Common grimacing features are excessively striking in the St. Benedict; and the hands are cramped as if by epilepsy.⁴ S. Romualdo, in profile, grabbles at his hair. But Castagno obviously knows of the tragic only the outer and visible signs. The inward grieving he is unable to depict. His drapery has the stiffness and consistency of paper, his outlines are hard and angular, his mode of rendering hands or feet coarse and clumsy. His colour is a liquid tempera of a dull tinge, laid on without much knowledge of the harmonic keys, yellowish in flesh lights, with superposed earthy shadows rubbed in so as to allow the undertone to crop up.⁵

The second Crucifixion at the Angeli⁶ is in the fifth cell in the

¹ Not in the places given by Vasari, but, no doubt, they are those to which he alludes (VASARI, ii., p. 669, 670). The monastery indeed has undergone many changes since the sixteenth century.

² No. 1,863, from the late Bromley collection.

³ The Evangelist is open-mouthed and shows his teeth. The background is blue.

* This background is repainted.

⁴ A fault which may be found also in Piero della Francesca.

⁵ This mode of colouring may be seen also in the works of Piero della Francesca.

⁶ This picture is now in the Uffizi Gallery No. 12.



PIPPO SPANGO

BY ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO

From a fresco now in the Convent of S. Appollonia

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second cloister, and without the figure of the Magdalen. It exhibits an excess of vulgarity even in the Saviour, whose frame is almost an anatomical caricature.¹

In a happier mood Castagno painted, for the niches of a hall in the Villa Pandolfini² at Legnaia, a series of heroes and sybils, the remnants of which have been transferred to canvas and taken to the depot of the Uffizi.³ Suiting the design of his figures to the height of the spaces, calculating the perspective of the parts according to the rules applied by Uccello and Donatello, he devoted a niche, in the rural temple, to Pippo Spano, the patron of Masolino and victor of the Turks; to Farinata, the liberator of his country; to Niccolò Acciaiuoli, the seneschal of Naples; to Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, the immortal poets of Italy; to Esther, Tomiris, and the sybil of Cumæ. A frieze crowned the lintels of the niches, and a correct perspective might allow the spectator to caress the illusion that the hall was honoured by the presence of a select and celebrated company.⁴ To gain a correct impression of them, indeed, these figures should be seen in their original places, where their supernatural size, the bold freedom of their attitudes, and something of the classical in their appearance would give them still greater value. Pippo Spano, in a defiant attitude, bending the steel of his rapier in his two hands, and with legs apart, challenges the world and seems capable of victory. There is dignity in the poets, slender, wiry activity in the sybils,⁵ with that peculiarity of length in neck and

¹ This Crucifixion is blackened in the shadows by damp. An engraving of it is in the *Etruria Pittrice*. RICHIA (*Chiese*, viii., p. 174) notices its existence.

² When Castagno painted here the villa belonged to the Carducci. It came into the possession of the Pandolfini only in 1475.

³ These frescoes are now in the Sala del Cenacolo at S. Apollonia. They are not arranged as they originally were at the Villa Pandolfini, but we possess a record of these frescoes in a pen-and-ink sketch of Alessandro Chiari, which shows how they were arranged. Further remains of these decorations were discovered a short time ago by Carocci, and others still more recently (Oct., 1910). Through the generosity of the present owner of the villa, they will soon be added to those at S. Apollonia.

⁴ The niches were rectangular, formed by pilasters with cornice and architraves. The nine figures above enumerated form but a part of a series which occupied the four sides of the hall. They were the ornament of one side only. * The Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia is now a farm belonging to Signori d'Ancona.

⁵ One only of these figures is a Sybil. It would be more correct to call them Heroines.

limb, and exaggerated size in the extremities, which characterise the later Pollaiuoli and Botticelli. Study of the antique is clear in the half-figure of Esther,¹ yet the coarse vigour of Andrea is visible in a large and common hand. The spaces are filled in with energetic firmness by one who knew the maxims of art as they were developed by Uccello and Donatello, by one who might truly be called the rival of the former, the imitator in painting of the sculptural boldness of the latter, but whose fibre is coarser, and whose taste is more unselect and vulgar than theirs. Castagno, in fact, shows an impetuous spirit, in bold freedom of action and outline, in the dash with which the colours are used; a knowledge of antique examples, in classic costume and head-dresses. His tones are of the hue of brick in the flesh tints of males, of a more delicate yellowish tinge in the sybils, broadly modelled with a brush full of liquid medium.²

Such a talent as Andrea's was well calculated for the production of works requiring no selection. He was therefore well suited to perform a duty imposed on him in 1435,³ by the Florentine government; and the fallen leaders of the Peruzzi and Albizzi were no doubt pictured by him, with daring truth, on the walls of the Palazzo del Podestà.⁴ His success is proved by the name which he then earned of Andreino degli Impiccati. Free of the guild of barber-surgeons and grocers, in 1444,⁵ Andrea is known to have laboured in 1444 for S. M. del Fiore at Florence, and to have furnished the "opera" with a design of a Deposition from the cross for one of the rounds of the cupola.⁶ In

¹ Originally in the centre of the wall, above the door.

² Vasari notices the same paintings twice: once, as at Legnaia in Villa Pandolfini (ii., p. 670); again, as in Casa Carducci Pandolfini at Florence (*ibid.*, ii., p. 680). The last statement is no doubt an error.

³ Perhaps the commission was given to him in the closing months of 1434, after Cosimo's return to Florence which took place in October of that year.

⁴ Vasari's statement (ii., p. 680) that the paintings at the Palazzo del Podestà represented the traitors of the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) is devoid of foundation, because Andrea del Castagno died before that time. But on this point see *postea*.

⁵ He is registered as "ANDREAS BARTHOLOMEI SIMONIS PICTOR POPULI S. M. DEL FIORE." See the original record in *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 3. *The date was 1445.

⁶ This window is still in existence. See HORNE, *art. cit.*, p. 228.

1446,¹ he painted some of the panels of the organ of the cathedral,² and in 1455³ he executed the portrait of Niccolò di Tolentino.⁴ This equestrian likeness was to imitate statuary and to represent the military chief in full dress, with the baton of command, on a sarcophagus resting on brackets against the wall. It has been since transferred to canvas and hangs in the cathedral, where it challenges comparison with Uccello's Hawkwood. It is a fine work for the period in which it was produced; being actively in motion, and true to nature; but it reveals in Andrea more vehemence than grandeur or dignity: and the forms of the horse lack the purity which characterises that of Uccello. The draperies are sculptural, and the laws of place are duly observed; the drawing is bold and broad, but the forms are heavy and somewhat coarse.⁵

Four years previous to this time Andrea del Castagno had been commissioned to execute certain frescoes for the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence;⁶ and after he had finished a St. Andrew in the cemetery and a Last Supper in the refectory,⁷ he began a series of frescoes in the choir of the church; painting in one compartment the angel and the Virgin Annunciate, in a second and third the Presentation and Death of the Virgin.⁸

*¹ It was in 1445 that he painted these panels.

² *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 3. *³ Not in 1455 but in 1456.

⁴ See the original commission for this work, without the name of the painter, in GAYE, *Carteggio*, u s. i., p. 562.

⁵ An armed soldier stands at each corner of the sarcophagus. *This fresco was restored in 1524 by Lorenzo di Credi, and in 1842 by Antonio Marini.

⁶ "La cappella majore (S. M. Nuova), è mezza di Andreino e mezza di Dominico Veneto, benchè alcune figure dinanzi sieno per mano di Alexo Bal." (Baldovinetti). ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 13.

*⁷ This was Andrea del Castagno's last work.

*⁸ Some of the payments for this work are under the years 1450, 1451 and 1452. All these works were executed by Andrea for Florence; but there are facts to show that he was well known also outside Tuscany. We do not allude to his supposed presence in Rome, for it would be difficult to prove that the Andreino da Firenze, who is recorded as working at the Vatican in 1454, was Andrea del Castagno. At any rate he was invited by the Marquis of Mantua, Lodovico Gonzaga, to paint an "Inferno" for the Ospedale degli Innocenti, an invitation he declined in favour of Baldovinetti. It seems to be certain, too, that he went to Venice and executed the cartoon for the mosaic of the Death of Mary in the Cappella dei Mascoli at S. Marco, at some date between 1446 and 1449. See THODE, *Andrea Castagno in Venedig*, in *Festschrift f. O. Benndorf*, Wien, 1898, p. 307, u.f.

His rival in S. Maria Nuova was, according to Vasari, Domenico Veneziano, whose creations excited in Andrea such envy and invincible jealousy, that he waylaid the Venetian and murdered him at the corner of a street.¹ Vasari is so certain of Andrea's guilt, that his narrative is everywhere coloured by undisguised indignation. In a preamble he balances the virtue of those whom generous rivalry excites to deeds of greatness, with the vice of those in whom the success of a friend is but food for envy and malice.² He depicts Andrea as a resolute and vindictive character, flattering to gain the confidence of his enemy, unwavering in his purpose, and securely gaining his end by cunning and force, at the same time so brutally hasty in temper, that he pursues a boy with the intention of killing him, because he removed the ladder from his scaffolding in S. M. del Fiore.³ Yet Vasari was clearly unable to specify the exact cause which led Castagno to murder Domenico; and the reader may seek in vain in his pages for an adequate motive for such an act.

The truth is that Andrea was not guilty of the crime imputed to him, and one or two records suffice to prove his innocence. In the first place, Andrea did not paint at S. Maria Nuova simultaneously with Domenico Veneziano, six years having already expired since Domenico completed his share in the adorning of the choir (1445), when Castagno began his frescoes (1451); and in the second place, Domenico Veneziano survived Andrea nearly four years.⁴

The paintings of Andrea and Domenico in S. Maria Nuova are not in existence. Domenico may thus have worked in oil colours, and Andrea may have executed one of his subjects with an oil medium.⁵ There are no means of ascertaining the fact. Andrea's remains, however, are works in tempera, and tend to discredit rather than to corroborate the statement that he used oil in his

¹ VASARI, vol. ii., p. 678-9.

² *Ibid.*, ii., p. 667.

³ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 678.

⁴ Signor Gaetano Milanesi enters largely into this question, adducing all possible collateral proofs in support of the assertion that Domenico lived later than Andrea del Castagno, concluding with the quotation of Domenico's and Andrea's registry of death, which settles the matter. See *Giornale Stor.*, *u.s.*, pp. 6, 7, and VASARI, ii., p. 683 *et seq.*

⁵ The Death of the Virgin was so painted, according to VASARI (ii., p. 677).

colours. Domenico seems, as far as one can judge from the pictures left to us, to have used a medium tempered to a certain extent with oil. We may have occasion to discuss the question of the introduction of oils and varnishes in tempera in the life of Antonello da Messina. It is enough to note for the present that the efforts of the Florentines of the fifteenth century to substitute oil for other mediums were tentative and in a great measure unsuccessful; that a long time elapsed before tempera was abandoned altogether and that many pictures were executed partly in the old method and partly with oils. The perfected system of the Van Eycks was not discovered in Italy, but introduced from the Netherlands, and came but slowly into common use.

Though Andrea's works in the choir of S. Maria Nuova have disappeared, a fresco of the Crucifixion, with attendant figures, in the neighbouring Loggia of the Hospital of the Oblate, may be assigned to him,¹ the figure of Christ being similar in character to those in the monastery of the Angeli and recalling those of the Peselli, but creating a better impression on the beholder, because the style is less coarse, the hands and feet less common.² On the other hand, Castagno's remaining frescoes in S. Croce, of the Baptist and St. Francis together in a niche, display in full his power of realising in the minutest manner the wiry and muscular nude of a fasting solitary.³ His St. John is aged and more like St. Jerome than the Baptist. The face is that of a peasant with straggling hair looking up to heaven and beating his breast. The nude is drawn with a melancholy truth, and the figure rivals that of the Magdalen by Donatello, in its appearance of privation. One may observe the sinewy forms mapped out in the manner afterwards peculiar to Mantegna; the bones, muscles, veins, and skin defined with astonishing precision. As usual, the laws of place are judiciously applied; but the draperies

¹ The building is annexed to S. Maria Nuova. The Virgin and Evangelist are at each side, the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. In the foreground at each side kneel two canonised Benedictines.

² Elsewhere Cavalcaselle shows himself to be doubtful in regard to this attribution. See CAVALCASELLE E. CROWE, *Storia della pittura in Italia*, Florence, 1892, vol. v., pp. 103, 104.

³ By most critics this work is held to be by Domenico Veneziano. The St. John recalls a figure in Domenico's picture in the Uffizi.

and colour have defects similar to those of previous examples, which it is therefore needless to repeat.¹

At S. Giuliano in Florence, Andrea is said to have painted a fresco.² The convent, much altered since Vasari's time, still contains a Crucifixion in a lunette above the portal. Yet the style and execution are unlike those of Andrea. There are not four figures at the sides of the cross, as Albertini and Vasari state; and the work is that of a painter who lived in the sixteenth century.³

According to Vasari, one of the tabernacles on the road to L'Anchetta outside Florence was painted by Castagno.⁴ But, from Porta S. Croce to L'Anchetta, not one of the numerous tabernacles contains paintings in his style. The only work of his time, indeed, is a Virgin and Child dated 1408 and noticed amongst the works of the Gerini. One may conclude, either that Vasari is in error, or that the tabernacle painted by Castagno has perished. This fate indeed befell most of his works; including the frescoes at S. Miniato⁵ which are recorded to have been finished in 1456.⁶

¹ One can still see that the figures were transferred from a cartoon, pricked and pounced in the usual manner. The shadows and outlines are verde.

² The Crucifixion with four figures was, according to Vasari and Albertini, above the portal (VASARI, ii, p. 672; ALBERTINI, *Mem. u.s.*, p. 12).

³ Yet Rosini engraves the piece as by Castagno (plate xli.), and the annotators of Vasari follow his opinion (ii, p. 672, note 1). The subject of the present painting in the lunette of the portal of S. Giuliano is the Redeemer crucified, the Magdalen at the foot, SS. Julian and John Evangelist at the sides, of the cross.

⁴ VASARI, ii, p. 679-80.

⁵ Andrea did not execute frescoes for S. Miniato, but an altarpiece, with the Assumption of the Virgin and S. Miniato and S. Giuliano. This picture was finished in 1449. (See O. H. GIGLIOLI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, No. 4, p. 87.) It is now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 47A), where it has borne various attributions. It was Count Gamba who first proved that this picture is Andrea's lost altarpiece. His discovery is of great importance, throwing quite a new light on Castagno's development. See *Rivista d'Arte*, 1910, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 25 *et seq.*

⁶ *Vide* Cenni di S. Miniato, p. 161. The works of Andrea which are no longer visible may be enumerated: a figure of St. Andrew in the cappella di Luca at S. Trinità (VASARI, ii, p. 670); a standard for processions in the Company dell' Evangelista at Florence (*ibid.*, p. 670-1); scenes from the life of St. Julian, in the chapel of that name; St. Jerome and a Trinity, in the chapel of St. Girolamo; a Lazarus, Martha, and the Magdalen, in the chapel of Orlando de' Medici, at the Servi of Florence (*ibid.*, p. 671); a Flagellation in the cloister of S. Croce (*ibid.*, p. 672); a nude of Charity in La Scarperia in Mugello (*ibid.*, p. 680); a picture in S. Miniato fra le Torri (*ibid.*, p. 679; ALBERTINI, *Mem., u.s.*, p. 14), executed in 1456, according to an inscription on the picture itself copied by BALDINUCCI, *Opere, u.s.*, v., p. 335.

* To the works of the master that have perished may be added those executed in the monastery of S. Benedetto outside the Porta a Pinti which perished in 1529.



MADONNA AND SAINTS

BY ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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Amongst the pictures assigned to Andrea del Castagno in the public galleries of Florence, one is a bust portrait of a beardless man in the Galleria Pitti.¹ The head is that of a powerful person, in the strength of manhood, with heavy lips and a volume of hair tufted on the forehead, beneath a barret. The drawing of the parts is bold and decisive, and is carried out with a breadth characteristic of the master. The portrait has indeed Andrea's low keys of tone, and is painted with great care and fusion on a general flesh ground of verde; and the forms are heavy as in most of his productions. Though but a head, the picture reveals characteristic traits of Castagno, and leads the critic by a natural sequence to the contemplation of a Virgin and Child between SS. Cosmo and Damian in adoration, and the standing figures of SS. John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, Francis and Catherine of Alexandria, an altarpiece originally in S. Ambrogio and now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.² This piece, which has been attributed to more than one painter, is now with sufficient cause catalogued under the name of Botticelli. Yet in some of the figures, and especially in that of St. Catherine, one may notice some of that heaviness and coarseness in the rendering of form which is a peculiarity in the portrait at the Pitti. The painter evidently copied a coarse and rustic model having

See A. ADEMOLLO, *Marietta da' Ricci*, ed. Passerini, 1845, vol. iii., p. 1021. In the three chapels that Andrea decorated at the Servi (there were four if, with the Anonimo Magliabecchiano, we include a S. Bernardino in the chapel of St. Barbara) not all his works have perished. In 1899 there was discovered in the Capella già Corboli (the third chapel to the left), under the picture by Bronzino, a fresco representing the Trinity adored by two pious women and by St. Jerome. There is in all the figures an extraordinary energy, but especially in the St. Jerome and the Christ. (See BROCKHAUS, *Forschungen über Florentiner Kunstwerke*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 71-81.) Later in 1903, there was visible for a short time a fresco executed by the Galliani in the second chapel to the left. (This fresco was covered over again by the picture of Loth.) In this fresco—which had suffered very severely—is represented the figure of God the Father among the clouds, with the globe in His left hand. With the other hand He blesses S. Giuliana, who stands with her arms on her bosom. See G. POGGI, *Degli affreschi di Andrea del Castagno* in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, Nos. 1-2, pp. 24-29. Nothing remains of the frescoes in the chapel of Orlando dei Medici (the fifth chapel to the right), that is to say, of the figures of Lazarus, Martha, and St. Mary Magdalen, and of an angel above the tabernacle, of which we have a record in a document recently found by C. V. Fabriczy, which shows that they were paid for on July 3 and August 2 and 8, 1455. The years 1454-5 are the probable date of all the frescoes of Castagno at the Annunziata. See C. V. FABRICZY, in *Repertorium für Kunstw.*, 1902, p. 393.

¹ Pitti Gallery, No. 372.

² No. 88, now under the name of Sandro Botticelli, of old assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio.

large hands and feet. The St. Cosmo, kneeling to the left, is also of common type, and the draperies are in fair style; but in this respect Castagno had elsewhere attained to equal excellence.¹ The Magdalen standing in rear of St. Cosmo, the St. Francis, recall to mind similar figures by Domenico Veneziano, the latter being, at once, a somewhat nobler repetition of that by Castagno, and of a figure not unlike that of Domenico Veneziano in the altarpiece of S. Lucia at Florence. There is a clear resemblance of style, in fact, between Domenico Veneziano and Andrea del Castagno, as there is between the latter and Piero della Francesca, who studied under Domenico. The name of Andrea may thus be put forward as a fair claimant for the authorship of the picture now under notice, the more so as the colour is of his usual low and verde tinge, at least in so far as the damaged condition of the surface enables one to judge.² Besides this piece, three others in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence are assigned to Andrea del Castagno. St. Jerome³ in the desert in one of them beats his breast with a stone in his hand, in front of a crucifix, in a landscape of which the trees are animated by birds. The coarse vigour of Andrea, or his school, is visible in the work, whose tempera is raw and dull; but the draperies are more careful than in Castagno's frescoes. The Magdalen⁴ and the Baptist⁵ are two figures which may remind the critic of works of Filippino's decline.⁶

In the museum of Berlin, a Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees, surrounded by saints and angels on Golgotha, reveals the style of Andrea del Castagno.⁷ The figure which most truly displays his manner is a bony and sinewy St. Jerome, the nude of whose frame is mapped out after the manner conspicuous in the later Mantegna, the expression of whose face is hard and stern. The grimace in the Virgin's face is

¹ See *postea*, the St. Jerome in the Academy of Arts at Florence (No. 91).

² Does not Vasari tell us that Andrea del Castagno was the best painter in Florence, and notice him as the master of one of the Pollaiuoli with whom Botticelli painted? (VASARI, ii., pp. 669 and 682.)

³ No. 91, Academy of Arts.

⁴ No. 89, Academy of Arts, Galeries des grands tableaux.

⁵ No. 93, *ibid.*

⁶ A. St. Jerome (No. 54) in the Academy of Arts is exactly in the character of Nos. 89 and 93, yet is assigned to Fra Filippo. In the same gallery, No. 65, a Magdalen at the foot of the cross, tempera on canvas, is in the manner of Luca Signorelli, yet catalogued under the name of Andrea del Castagno.

* It is now catalogued as by Signorelli.

⁷ No. 1,055. To the Virgin's left is St. Jerome, to the right St. Augustine. In rear is the cross with an angel at each extremity of the horizontal limb. Distance a landscape.

not agreeable. The thin bodied colour is yellowish in tone, the shadows of a yellowish brown through which the verde undertone appears. Another picture in the same gallery representing St. Jerome, a small predella piece,¹ is of a similar character to the foregoing, but the tempera is more spare and the execution coarser. A second St. Jerome of the same class may be seen by the curious in the depot of the Berlin Gallery. A third, which is a repetition of No. 1,139 at Berlin, may be seen in the Lombardi collection at Florence.²

A small Crucifixion in the Municipal Gallery at Prato³ with the fainting Virgin, the Evangelist, the Magdalen, SS. Jerome and Francis, seems entitled to be classed amongst the works of Andrea del Castagno. The group of the Virgin raised by St. John is in the feeling of that in Angelico's fresco of the refectory of S. Marco at Florence, but the St. Jerome is peculiarly in Andrea's manner.⁴

Andrea del Castagno died, probably of plague, on the 19th of August, 1457, having lost his wife a few days before. He was buried in S. Maria de' Servi⁵ at Florence.⁶

Of Domenico Veneziano, hitherto so intimately and so unjustly connected with the imaginary misdeeds of Andrea del Castagno,

¹ No. 1,139. In the distance are episodes, SS. Sebastian, Roch, and Tobit netting the fish.

*² This collection is now dispersed.

³ No. 7, Prato Cat., under the head of "Scuola Fiorentina."

*⁴ When the authors wrote the frescoes of the convent of S. Apollonia, which are for us the most characteristic examples of the master art, had not been discovered. These frescoes were probably executed about 1434 for the Abbess Cecilia (HORNE, *art. cit.*, p. 228). In addition to a Pietà, which is a lunette over the doorway of the small *cortile* of the refectory (now a part of the military magazine), there are a Cenacolo, a Resurrection, a Crucifixion, and a Deposition. The Cenacolo has been restored. The other frescoes though damaged have not been restored. In the Cenacolo are to be still seen the masterly qualities of Andrea. We admire the admirable distribution of the figures and their lighting. At the same time we note how much Andrea, like the other masters of his school, owes to the Florentine sculptors, how this masculine art of his is really more sculptural than picturesque. The Crucifixion of the National Gallery belongs to the same period as the S. Apollonia frescoes, and to this period Horne gives certain frescoes in a private chapel near Florence.

⁵ *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 2.

*⁶ A David on a shield in Captain Drury Lowe's collection has been given by Mr. Berenson to Andrea; but it is certainly by Antonio Pollaiuolo, to whom it was given by Dr. J. P. Richter in his catalogue of the Locko Park collection. Amongst the works of his school is a fresco in the Refectory of S. Croce at Florence. The subject is a legend of S. Eustachio. It is dated 1467.

no one knows the birth or education. Were chance to reveal that he was born in Venice, the question would still arise: Where was he taught, and by whom? Even now and with the materials that are at hand, one may assume that Domenico learnt design and painting in Tuscany. In Venice, where artists clung during the whole of the fourteenth century to the antiquated manner of the early ages, Domenico could not have laid the foundation of a style which, in its prime, bore the indelible impress of Florentine greatness. The rise of the fifteenth century created little change in Venice, and we shall have occasion to note that this state of things lasted till the time of Giovanni d'Allemagna, Gentile da Fabriano, and Antonello da Messina.

In the early part of the fifteenth century Cosimo de' Medici lived in exile at a distance from Florence. The time which he spent in Venice, the interval during which his sons journeyed from place to place in search of support towards the re-establishment of the family in Florence, may have amply sufficed to lead to an acquaintance between them and Domenico. It appears indeed, from the tenor of a letter addressed by the artist from Perugia to Piero de' Medici in April, 1438,¹ that Domenico had long been connected with the fortunes of the Medici family, that he owed to Cosimo a debt of gratitude, and perhaps substantial favours, and that he was at that time sufficiently confident of his powers as an artist to request that he might be allowed to paint for the head of the house an altarpiece; and to declare that, if that request were granted, "he hoped to do marvels." Domenico, at the same time, shows himself intimately acquainted with the names and means of Florentine artists at the date of his letter. He knew that Fra Filippo and Fra Giovanni (Angelico) were actively employed, and that the former was, at that very time, busy on the altarpiece of S. Spirito.

In a previous chapter, the state of Perugian art in the fourteenth century has been described. The creations of Perugian painters resembled those of all other artists of the neighbouring cities at that time. The rise of the fifteenth century did not witness any improvement. Not a single work exists to prove

¹ April 1. *Vide* GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., p. 136, and DOUGLAS, *Fra Angelico*, London, 1900, p. 184.

that Domenico could have studied there with fruit. When Giovanni Buonfigli began the series of frescoes in the Palazzo del Comune at Perugia, which were commissioned of him in 1464,¹ he displayed an art unlike that of the painters who preceded him either there or at Siena. He executed them in a style akin to that of the Florentine school, and stamped in some measure in the mould of Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca. If, indeed, one examines the short, stout, round-headed figures, with aged and flattened features, peculiar to Buonfigli, he may perceive a distinct resemblance of character and of type, of arrangement and of drapery, with the works of the former and of Fra Filippo²—in the nude, an imitation of the manner of Andrea del Castagno, the Peselli, and Piero della Francesca. The frescoes of Buonfigli were to have been valued after their completion by Fra Filippo, Angelico, and Domenico Veneziano. It is obvious therefore that Buonfigli was acquainted with the latter; it is probable that he had had lessons from him; and it is clear that his art was not a local but an imported one. The absence of all but a purely local art in Perugia, the intimate acquaintance of Domenico with Florentine painters and their works, the influence which he exercised on Buonfigli, prove that he must have studied in Florence, that his stay in Perugia was of some duration. The date and tenor of his letter to Piero de' Medici are sufficient to warrant the assumption that he was born in the early part of the fifteenth century, and that he was the contemporary of Fra Filippo and Angelico. His surname of Veneziano may have arisen from the fact that he was of a Venetian family, a record of 1439–40 describing him as “Maestro Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Venezia.”³ Vasari was aware that Domenico had resided in Perugia. He states that certain paintings which adorned a hall in the Casa Baglioni had caused his name to be heard even in Florence,⁴ and that, being called thither, he completed numerous

*¹ Not 1464, but 1454.

² Buonfigli imitates without improving on, or approaching the excellence of, Fra Filippo.

³ See *postea* the text of this record.

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 674.

* According to Milanese and Schmarsow (*Repertorium f. Kunstw.*, 1893, p. 184), Domenico painted twenty-five figures of renowned warriors, philosophers, and

works. It is very likely that the appeal made to the Medici was not without effect, and that, through their influence, Domenico obtained a commission to paint the choir of S. Maria Nuova. The records of that hospital prove that he laboured there from 1439 till 1445; and they further reveal that his apprentice was Piero della Francesca, and his daily labourer Bicci di Lorenzo.¹ The frescoes of the choir of S. Egidio in S. M. Nuova are no longer in existence, but Vasari is correct in saying that Domenico employed oil in the medium with which they are executed;² for the books of the hospital are full of items of payment for linseed oil furnished to Domenico during the period of his labours.³ But it is clear that Domenico could not have learnt the Flemish system of oil painting from Antonello da Messina,⁴ because there is no proof that Antonello should have visited North Italy so early, and because the system of the Van Eycks did not consist merely in the use of linseed oil as a vehicle to colours. The use of linseed oil in certain portions of pictures was not unknown, as we are told by Cennini, to the Florentines of the fourteenth century. Domenico seems to have extended this practice; and the solitary picture which we possess is clearly painted in a tempera composed of vehicles differing from the old ones. These modifications were tried at the same time by contemporary painters, but were carried

statesmen in the courtyard of the Baglioni Palace, and that inscriptions by the humanist Francesco Maturanzio were placed under these frescoes. But the letter of Jacopo Antiquario to Francesco Maturanzio on which these statements are based does not state that these frescoes are by Domenico, nor that they are of the year 1438. Moreover, this cannot be the date of these frescoes if Maturanzio composed the inscriptions, for he was not born until about 1443. See VERMIGLIOLI, *Memorie per la vita di Francesco Maturanzio*, Perugia, 1807, p. 77.

To these reasons for denying Domenico's authorship of these frescoes another has been added by BOMBE (*Repert. f. Kunstw.*, 1909, xxxii.). He shows that one of the personages represented, Carlo Fortebraccio, was not born until 1479.

¹ "M. Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Vinezia che dipigne la chapella maggiore di Santo Gidio dè dare a dì VII di Sett. f. 44,—et dè dare a dì XII di Sett. f. 2. 5. 15 posto Pietro di Benedetto dal Borgho a San Sepolchro sta collui." Record in *Archivio dell' Arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova di Firenze, Quaderno di Cassa EE.* 1439-40, f. 94, tergo, communicated by Gaetano Milanese and published by Herr Harzen in *Archiv. für die zeichnenden Künste*, 8vo, Leipzig, Rudolph Weigel, 1856, note to p. 232. For Bicci's assistance to Domenico see *antea*.

² VASARI, ii., pp. 676-7.

³ *Giornale Stor. degli Arch. Toscani*, 1862, u.s., p. 4.

⁴ VASARI asserts this in the *Life of Antonello*, ii., p. 570.



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

BY DOMENICO VENEZIANO

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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out with most success by Domenico's pupil Piero della Francesca, who, in 1466, accepted a commission to paint a church standard in oil,¹ and who succeeded admirably in that medium in the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino, which now adorn the Uffizi at Florence. How far the system of Piero della Francesca varied from that of the Van Eycks and Antonello must remain a matter for future study.

Rumohr is right in saying of Domenico's picture in S. Lucia de' Magnoli at Florence² that the head of St. Lucy is not unworthy of Angelico, whilst the other figures, the Virgin and Child, SS. John Baptist, Francis, and Nicholas, display the mannerism of Andrea del Castagno. The figure of St. Lucy is indeed in some measure select in the spirit of Masolino and Angelico, or of Fra Filippo's youth. The attitude is noble, and the drapery participates at once in the simplicity of the Dominican or of Masolino, and in the research peculiar to Andrea del Castagno. The same remark, however, applies to the Virgin and Child. Her hand simply supports the body of the naked standing Christ. He looks at the Baptist, who points at Him and seems to say "Ecce Agnus Dei." There is more maternal affection than purely religious feeling in the group of Mother and Child, but there is a pleasing inward repose in it. St. Nicholas in episcopals is a short, stout, yet weakly being, aged and not noble. But the painter falls into excess of commonplace in the figure and face of the Baptist, whose lineaments, muscle, limbs, and extremities are a mere realistic study of nature. The vulgarity in this figure is, however, of essential interest to the critic as it reveals the source from which Piero della Francesca obtained one of his most marked defects.³ St. Dominic reminds one of the style of Andrea del Castagno.⁴ Generally, the

¹ For the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo. See the original commission in *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, u.s., p. 9.

* ² This picture is now in the Uffizi Gallery (No. 1305). For the lost predella, see BODE, *Eine Predellatafel von Domenico Veneziano*, in the *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1883, p. 89. Bode has shown that a small panel in the Berlin Gallery, representing the Martyrdom of St. Lucy, belongs to this predella.

³ The drawing of the legs is coarse, and seems a prelude to that of the dropsical ones of Piero.

⁴ As before remarked, see *antea*, Andrea del Castagno.

drawing is firm and clear, and the outlines have the precision which may be found in the works of Piero della Francesca, Verrocchio, and Leonardo da Vinci. The general impression created by the colour of the picture is that of a light-toned piece, of gay and well-fused colour and fair impasto. The arched space in which the scene is laid is an advance upon the style of the works of Angelico, Masolino, and Fra Filippo. The piece, as a whole, belongs to the class of those executed by these masters, and shows that Domenico was of the school which their creations display.¹

Domenico spent his remaining days, it would seem, in Florence.² In 1448³ he painted two wedding chests for a wealthy person named Marco Parenti.⁴ The only remaining monument of his skill is the fresco originally in a tabernacle on the Canto de' Carneseccchi, and now, transferred to canvas, in possession of Prince Pio at Florence.⁵

¹ The Virgin and Child enthroned on a throne resting upon two polygonal steps, is under a triple arcade between the Baptist and St. Francis on the left, SS. Nicolas and Lucy on the right. A pentagonal screen of architecture lines the background. Trees show their leaves above the parapet. On the lower step of the throne are the words OPUS DÑICI. DE. VENETIIS. HO MATER DEI—MISERERE. MEL.—DATUM EST.

* We have noted above the relationship that exists between the fresco of St. Francis and St. John Baptist at S. Croce and the picture at the Uffizi.

*² Dr. Bode gives to Domenico Veneziano a group of female portraits which includes (1) the portrait of the young widow of Giovanni de' Bardi at the Poldi-Pezzoli gallery, a portrait at the Uffizi (No. 1204), a portrait at the Uffizi (No. 371), another at Berlin (No. 1614), and two in the National Gallery of London. He shows that these portraits cannot be by Piero della Francesca to whom they have been attributed, and demonstrates that they were by some master near in style and period to Piero, but of a somewhat earlier date. In support of this theory it might be urged that we have documentary evidence that Domenico painted female portraits. In the *Medici Inventory* of 1492 we find mention of "uno colmetto con dua sportelli dipintovi dentro una testa di una dama di mano di maestro Domenico da Vinegia." See BODE, *Domenico Venezianos Profilbildnis*, etc., in the *Jahrbuch d. K. K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1897, p. 187 *et seq.*, and MÜNTZ, *Les collections des Médicis au XV^e*, etc., 1888, pp. 84 and 85.

*³ In 1447, not 1448.

*⁴ *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, u.s., p. 4. The price was 50 florins.

*⁵ Now in the National Gallery of London. The Madonna is No. 1215. The two heads of monks are Nos. 766, 767. On the step of the throne of the Madonna is the Signature DOMICUS D. VENECIIS P.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. LUCY

By DOMENICO VENEZIANO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

The Virgin sits in a stone seat of considerable depth and drawn in false perspective. Her form, much larger than that of nature, is slender, natural, and fairly draped. The Infant stands naked and in the act of benediction on her right knee. Her head is veiled, her neck in a low dress; and the step of the throne rests on a meadow decked with flowers. Above her, free in movement, the foreshortened figure of the Eternal looks down. Venerable and bearded in grey, he sheds rays from his mouth upon her head and seems to recommend her with both hands to the adoration of the faithful. Two heads of canonised monks originally at the Virgin's sides are likewise preserved, one aged and bearded, the other shaven and shorn.

Of the colour in this piece nothing remains to be said. The head of the beardless Dominican, however, is but another development of forms, such as may be found in the saints of Angelico, about the Crucifixion of the great refectory at S. Marco. The style is the same, but religious feeling and thought are less clearly marked than in the work of the friar. The head of the bearded monk is an imitation of a common nature.¹

Domenico died at Florence on the 15th of May, 1461, four years after Andrea del Castagno, who is supposed to have murdered him, and was buried in S. Pier Gattolino.²

¹ The fresco is damaged, chiefly in the draperies and in parts of the heads.

* Many critics regard the Madonna of the Panciatichi Palace, shown at the Exhibition of Fine Arts held in Florence in 1900, as a work of Domenico Veneziano. Crowe and Cavalcaselle have mentioned Domenico's name in connection with this picture, but with some hesitation. See the German edition of this work, iii., p. 51.

² Vasari affirms that Domenico, taking with him Piero della Francesca, painted in the sacristy of S. Maria di Loreto a part of the ceiling, but that, frightened by an outbreak of the plague, both artists fled and left their work unfinished. The date of the outbreak of the plague in the Marches is historically given as 1447-1452. There are no traces of this fragment in S. Maria di Loreto. The eight-sided space of the sacristy is now covered with frescoes by Luca Signorelli (*vide* VASARI, ii., pp. 495 and 674; and for the death of Domenico, *Giornale Stor.*, 1862, u.s., p. 7). Vasari is supposed, by Gaetano Milanesi, in the work just quoted, to have confounded Domenico Veneziano with one Domenico di Matteo, a Florentine painter who was really assassinated in the streets of his native city in 1448.

CHAPTER VII

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

THE historians of Italian art may indulge in a justifiable exultation at having rescued one of their great painters from the stigma cast upon him by Vasari. It were to be desired that the character of Fra Filippo should be freed from the stain which rests upon it, as that of Andrea del Castagno has been cleared from the imputation of murder, which made his name for centuries a byword amongst artists. It is unfortunately not possible to give distinct proofs that Fra Filippo was not a monk of loose habits. Yet there is much in the history of his life, such as it lies before the student of this century, to cast doubts on the veracity of his accusers, and to mitigate the censure of the critic.

Filippo was the son of a butcher named Tommaso Lippi by Madonna Antonia.¹ Her death, shortly after 1412²—the date of this event—his decease two years later, left Filippo an orphan in the hands of an aunt, whose poverty disabled her for the duties of a mother. In 1420 Filippo was registered in the community of the Carmine at Florence.³ From that time till 1432 he remained an inmate of the monastery,⁴ and probably studied painting in the neighbouring chapel of the Brancacci.⁵ In 1430 he

¹ This fact is ascertained from records kindly furnished by Dottore Gaetano Milanesi. According to Vasari, Filippo was born in the Contrada dell' Ardiglione by the Canto alla Cuculia in Florence and behind the convent of the Carmine (ii., pp. 611, 612).

* ² The date of the birth of Fra Filippo is not certain. Milanesi thinks that it took place in 1406.

³ Records, furnished by Dottore G. Milanesi, *u.s.*

* In 1421. See VASARI, ii., p. 612 note.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The doubts hitherto raised on this point are settled now that we know that the frescoes of Masaccio at the Brancacci were completed before 1428.

appears for the first time in the books of the Carmine with the title of painter. In 1432¹ he left the monastery and ceased to be noticed in its records.² Hence the natural conclusion that the works which Fra Filippo may have executed there were completed between 1430-32. We lament the disappearance of these early productions; in one of which, says Vasari, "the spirit of Masaccio seemed to have entered the body of Fra Filippo."³ Such parts of the frescoes of the Carmine cloister as have been rescued from whitewash can scarcely be said to display the characteristics of the friar.⁴

If, indeed, we attempt in a rapid sketch to resume the principal features of his style, we shall find that Fra Filippo's chief excellence was that which distinguished him as the greatest colourist and the most complete master of the technical difficulties in art of his time. He may not have stoically held to the severely grand maxims which signalise the genius of Masaccio; but he gave luxurious attraction to his works by a charm of colour in which, indeed, he may claim to have been unique.⁵ A full brush, handled with breadth, produced a deep impasto. A careful return to the parts fused them into a soft fulness and left a bright, clear tone behind. Yet Filippo was not free from the peculiarities of his age. In his effort to reproduce the reality he did not aim at the rotundity of nature, but preferred the characteristic flatness usual in bas-relief. The want of massiveness so produced was, however, compensated by taste and feeling. His compositions were not without grandeur; and if he remained second to Masaccio in the perfect distribution and arrangement of a picture, he supplied his deficiencies by movement and exuberance, chiefly in the numerous pleasant episodes which give interest and animation to the scenes he de-

*¹ It was towards the close of 1431 that he left the monastery. See VASARI, ii., p. 614 note.

² Records of Dottore Gaetano Milanesi, *u.s.*

³ VASARI, ii., p. 613. Fra Filippo's works at the Carmine were a Pope conferring the rules to the Carmelites (*terra verde*) in the cloister, a St. John the Baptist in the church, a St. Martial on a pilaster near the organ.

⁴ See *antea* in Masaccio.

⁵ This is more particularly true as regards wall painting. And so the Florentine school gives us, as before, a full sequence of progress in every branch of art.

picted. His figures individually might be less dignified and grand than Masaccio's, but he threw an amount of life and gentle feeling into the heads and features that, combined with beauty of colour, create a most pleasing impression. His style as a draughtsman was good. Master of nude form, though frequently generalising the drawing of extremities, his pictures display less progress in the study of detail than those of Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veneziano, or the Peselli; but, if inferior to them in this respect, he avoided the vulgarity of their realism. His draperies, particularly such as clothed female forms, were luxuriously adorned with ornaments in gilt relief, according to the fashion of the time, and to the example of Masolino.¹ He did not multiply realistic minuteness in landscape like his naturalist contemporaries, but he preserved simplicity and due subordination. Fra Filippo's style, in fact, was a medium between that of the naturalists and that of Angelico, Masolino, and Masaccio. Perspective owed little of its progress to him. He never ventured to foreshorten figures, and his architecture discloses little knowledge of the art which Uccello brought to such comparative perfection. He supplied this want, however, to some extent, by atmosphere. At first he followed the architectural style of Angelico and Masolino. In the frescoes of his later time one may observe somewhat heavier proportions. His partiality for luxurious ornamentation in pilasters, friezes, and cornices was, throughout his career, remarkable.

The productions of his early years can only be guessed at by due comparison with later and more certain works. Amongst the pictures which bear the impress of his style, but reveal at the same time a freshness and religious feeling reminiscent of Angelico and Masolino, is a nativity in the Florence Academy of Arts. The meek intentness of the Virgin, kneeling in prayer before the recumbent Saviour, seems a natural emanation from one still saturated with the sentiment of the mystic school or of the cloister. The two angels hovering in attendance on the dove, whose rays fall on the newborn Child, have the soft beauty of those depicted by Fra Giovanni. The short-necked Infant and the bearded monk of the Camaldoles, whose trunk and head

¹ A peculiarity in Benozzo Gozzoli also, which Masaccio avoided or disdained.

appear in the right-hand corner of the foreground, are in Fra Filippo's character. The light rosy key of clear tone which pervades the picture, the soft fusion of the tints, remind the spectator again of Angelico and Masolino.¹ The picture has been assigned indeed to the latter, but is now more truly attributed to Fra Filippo. It is very probably the altarpiece which the Carmelite painted for the retreat of the wife of Cosimo de' Medici, of which Vasari speaks in the same sentence with certain small episodes given by Cosimo to Eugenius the Fourth (1431-9).² It may have been executed contemporarily with another Nativity now in the Academy of Arts, which in spite of much injury and abrasion also recalls the influence on Lippi of the manner of Angelico and Masolino.³

If we suppose that these pictures were completed by Fra Filippo when still an inmate of the Carmine, or immediately after his abandonment of the Carmelite cells, and if we assume that the first of them was painted for one of the Medici, we perceive that the connection of the friar with Cosimo's family began at a much earlier date than Vasari believed.⁴

The story of Lippi's capture by the pirates of Barbary seems

¹ This piece is numbered 79, and was originally in the Camaldoles of Florence. Besides the figures described in the text, the youthful St. John may be seen on the right advancing to the front with a scroll and a reed cross. The hands of the Eternal issue from a rainbow in the sky. The distance is a landscape of rocks and trees. The principal figures are half the size of life.

² VASARI, ii., p. 616.

³ This picture (No. 82) represents the Virgin adoring the Infant on the ground, SS. Joseph and Hilarion to the left, and in the same direction, but in distance, S. Jerome. On the right, behind a wall, is St. Magdalen in prayer in front of the hut. The distance is a landscape with shepherds and a glory of angels. According to RICHA (x., p. 145) the St. Hilarion is a portrait of Robert Malatesta, a brother of Annalena. This piece is mentioned by Albertini who calls the convent of Annalena by its old name of S. Vincenzo (*Memoriale*, u.s., p. 16), and by VASARI (ii., p. 619), who says that Annalena was a convent of nuns.

* It is not possible that this picture was painted for the convent of Annalena, which was founded only in 1452, and sanctioned by Calixtus III. in 1455 (RICHA, *op. cit.*, x., pp. 137, 138), whilst the picture is one of the earliest of the artist. For the same reason the tradition that S. Hilarion is a portrait of Robert Malatesta must be rejected.

⁴ Vasari states that Lippi became known to Cosimo de' Medici by the altarpiece which he delivered to S. Ambrogio of Florence (ii., p. 615). This picture was executed long after Fra Filippo and Cosimo were acquainted, as may be shown later.

at all events to be a romance,¹ and there is no trace either of his stay in Ancona, the place where he is supposed to have been captured, or of his residence in Naples, where he is said to have landed after his captivity. Nor is it true that his withdrawal from the convent in which he had been brought up involved his abandonment of the frock, or at least of some species of religious vow. We may note, on the contrary, that in all the pictures which bear his signature he calls himself "Frater Filippus." In a letter written by Domenico Veneziano to Piero de' Medici in 1438, he alludes to Lippi as Fra Filippo;² and in a note of his own to the same person dated August 13, 1439, the Fra clearly describes his condition when he says "I am one of the poorest friars of Florence."³ This note indeed is one of the most direct contradictions to the general tenor of Vasari's narrative respecting Fra Filippo that can be conceived. It paints the man, and gives such an insight into his struggles as to create a lively sympathy in his favour.

A year previous to the date of the letter Domenico Veneziano describes, from the comparative distance of Perugia, the prosperity and fame of Fra Filippo and Angelico.

Fra Filippo, in August of the following year, laments that one of his pictures should not have produced the price which he anticipated. He tells how it has pleased God to leave him, the poorest friar of Florence, in charge of six marriageable nieces who cannot live without his means. He therefore begs Piero de' Medici, then at Trebbio, in Mugello, to let him have wine and corn on account, that his nieces may not starve when he goes away. He says, complainingly, further, that Ser Antonio del Marchese has offered him a yearly salary of five florins, which, setting aside travelling expenses, would furnish him about the price of a pair of hose, and begs a few lines to that nobleman from Piero, possibly with a view to more liberal treatment and salary.⁴

This glance at a piece of real life contrasts, indeed, with Vasari's flowing description of the enjoyments of a loose and adventurous

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 614-15.

² See *antea* and GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 136.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁴ See the letter in original in GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., p. 141.

friar.¹ Is it possible that the monk who feeds, clothes, and attends to six marriageable nieces, and begs for corn and wine, should be the same whom Cosimo de' Medici locks up in his palace, as a modern manager locked up a celebrated dramatist indebted to him for a play; and who ties his sheets together that he may escape for days together to loose company and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures? Is it likely that the seducer of Lucretia Buti should, in 1452, have been chaplain, as we know he was, to the convent of nuns of S. Niccolò de' Fieri at Florence,² and that, in 1457, he should be rector of S. Quirico at Legnaia?³ It is possible that Fra Filippo, though a churchman, may have erred. But the historian whose faith in the veracity of Vasari is justly shaken, will pause even before he admits that Filippino Lippi is the natural son of a Carmelite friar; and we prefer to believe that he was adopted, in the manner usual to the time.⁴ But, to return, if we resume the notice of such works as Fra Filippo may have executed in his earlier time, we may place next in order to the altarpieces of the Academy of Arts at Florence that of the Berlin Museum, whose signature FRATER · PHILIPPUS · P. is a welcome confirmation of the patent originality of the picture.⁵ Once in the Solly collection, its first destination is not known,⁶ but the delicate finish, the great fulness of its impasto, the gay and pleasing features which characterise it, lead one to class it as an advance upon the works previously quoted. The subject, as before, is the Nativity, the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the Infant lying on a bed of flowers, the youthful Baptist to the right, St. Bernard in prayer in a distance of hills, and the Eternal above, sending, as

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 616.

² MILANESI, in VASARI, ii., p. 614 note.

³ *Ibid.* * Fra Filippo was appointed rector of S. Quirico at Legnaia from 1442 by a bull of Eugenius IV.

⁴ New documents prove the truth of Vasari's narrative. See MILANESI, *Commentario alla Vita di Fra Filippo*, in VASARI, ii., p. 633.

⁵ No. 69, *Berlin Mus. Catal.*

⁶ We now know from the *Inventario Mediceo* published by MÜNTZ (*Les Collections des Médicis*, etc., Paris, 1888, p. 62) that this picture adorned the private chapel of the Medici Palace, which was afterwards further beautified by the frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli (see VASARI, ii., p. 615). Many were the derivations in painting and sculpture of this Nativity, as BROCKHAUS has shown, who has also explained the picture in detail, in his *Forschungen über Florent. Kunstwerke*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 51.

it were, the dove whose rays fall upon the frame of the Redeemer. In the same class are the two lunettes in the National Gallery, representing the Annunciation¹ and St. John the Baptist, with six other saints,² both painted for Cosimo de' Medici, and long the ornament of his palace. These and the foregoing examples suffice to reveal the education which Fra Filippo received. He issued from the school of Masolino, Angelico, and Masaccio. Without being able to overtake the latter he followed a sure path of progress during a laborious and fruitful career, in which no weariness or carelessness, but a ceaseless activity and development are apparent to the last.

Domenico Veneziano alludes, in a letter already quoted, to an altarpiece which Fra Filippo had in hand in 1438. The donor of the picture, Gherardo di Bartolommeo Barbadori,³ caused it to be placed in the chapel of his family at S. Spirito, before the expiration of the year in which Domenico wrote.⁴ Somewhat grey from time, it depicts the Virgin erect on the first step of her throne, between angels and archangels, presenting the Infant Saviour to the adoration of two kneeling churchmen.⁵ It is one of the finest creations of Fra Filippo, and proves to what height his talent had risen at the comparatively early age of twenty-six.⁶ A predella representing the Annunciation, and three other scenes, once formed part of this picture and is now in the Florence Academy of Arts.⁷

¹ No. 666, *Nat. Gal. Catal.*

² No. 667 *ib.* Both pieces were of old in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace. The first, purchased from the brothers Metzger, was presented to the Nat. Gal. by Sir C. L. Eastlake. The second was bought from Mr. A. Barker. No. 666 is marked with the crest of Cosimo, three feathers tied together in a ring.

* ³ Gherardo was already dead in 1429. The picture was commissioned for his chapel at S. Spirito, in 1437, by the captains of the company of Or San Michele for the price of forty florins (see SUPINO, I.B., *Fra Filippo Lippi*, 1902, pp. 55, 56).

⁴ RICHIA, *Chiese*, ix., p. 33, notes the fact, misdating 1418 instead of 1438. See also VASARI, ii., p. 618.

⁵ No. 1344. Louvre. Some heads of monks are visible behind the parapet of the monumental throne. * The two kneeling churchmen are San Frediano and Sant' Agostino.

* ⁶ Thirty-two years, if the year 1406 is as we believe the probable date of his birth.

⁷ No 86. The colour is somewhat injured, but the style and character prove that this is the predella of the Barbadori altarpiece. * The predella, in three compartments, represents (1) S. Frediano turning the course of the river Serchio; (2) the Annunciation of the death of the Virgin, and (3) St. Augustine in his study.

Contemporary with the Barbadori altarpiece, that which Fra Filippo executed for Carlo Marsuppini claims attention.¹ The Virgin, in the centre of the picture, is crowned by the Redeemer, in presence of two kneeling patrons,² presented by four Bernardine friars, whilst six angels at the sides sound instruments or sing hymns of joy. One of the kneeling figures is that of Carlo Marsuppini,³ donor of the altarpiece to the cappella S. Bernardo in Monte Oliveto of Arezzo. He is said to have called Fra Filippo's attention at the time to the loose manner in which the hands were drawn; and there is no doubt that, if the altarpiece, which is now in the Gallery of the Lateran⁴ at Rome,⁵ be carefully examined, one may admit that the hands are neglected in detail and sometimes of small proportions. Yet one fails to see the justice of Vasari's further remark, that Fra Filippo was led by this criticism to hide the extremities of his figures in drapery.⁶ The anecdote, however, illustrates the critical tendency of the age; and it is not impossible that remarks similar to these should have contributed to diminish the means, and try the temper, of Fra Filippo in 1439. Be this as it may, the phase of neglect passed away, and in 1441 an important commission was offered and accepted. Lippi painted an altarpiece for the nuns of S. Ambrogio.⁷ Damaged by repainting in most parts, it is now in

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 618.

² One to the left is aged, that to the right youthful.

*³ The figure on the left is that of Carlo Marsuppini; that on the right is probably his brother. Judging from the appearance of Marsuppini, he seems to be about fifty years of age. As he was born in 1399, the date of the picture is probably about 1450 (see SUPINO, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

*⁴ Now in the Vatican Gallery, Sala iii.

⁵ At the suppression of the convent of Monte Oliveto in 1785, the picture passed into the hands of the Lippi of Arezzo. It was then purchased (1841) by St. Ugo Baldi, who sold it to Carlo Baldeschi. The latter parted with it to Gregory XVI. who placed it in the Lateran Gallery. Some injury has been done by restoring.

⁶ VASARI, ii., pp. 618, 619.

*⁷ The altar-piece was painted for the chaplain of S. Ambrogio, Francesco di Antonio Maringhi, and destined for the high altar. From the will of Maringhi, dated 1441, it appears that this altar-piece was already begun (see SUPINO, *op. cit.*, p. 68), but we do not know if it had been commissioned as early as 1434, as Milanese asserts without giving the evidence upon which his statement is based (see VASARI, ii., p. 645). In the year 1442 the picture was still unfinished. Perhaps it was not finally completed until 1447, when it was paid for.

the Academy of Arts,¹ and seems to have been one of the fine pictures of the master. The subject, similar to that of the altar-piece of Monte Oliveto, is a Coronation of the Virgin amongst angels and adoring figures of saints, many of whom are Bernardine monks, and one, with the tonsure, to the right, is a half-length portrait of Fra Filippo himself. An angel in front of him holds a scroll on which is written: IS PERFECIT OPUS. We thus have a material proof that the painter still bore in 1441 the distinctive marks of a Carmelite friar.²

Some years later we find Fra Filippo receiving (May 16, 1447) forty lire for a Vision of St. Bernard adorning the space above the door of the Cancellaria in the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence,³ a piece which now forms part of the Collection of the National Gallery, but which does not strike the spectator as attractively coloured or handled with the mastery remarkable in previous examples.⁴

All these pieces, and the number of commissions which Fra Filippo obtained from most of the great families and churches of Florence, testify that his time was now actively employed, and that he was courted for his works in a pressing and continuous manner. We may suppose that when he received, in 1452, the appointment of chaplain to the convent of S. Niccolò de Fieri at Florence, he owed this preferment to the all-powerful influence of the Medici, and that Cosimo, "who always flattered

¹ No. 62. Borghini, noticing this picture in the sacristy of S. Ambrogio, says that it was signed at the base FRATER PHILIPPUS, and that on the ornamental frame were the words: AB IVJVS EOOL. PRIORE FRANCISCO MARINGHIO AN. MCCCXXLI. FACTA, ET A MONIALIBVS ORNATA FVIT AN. M.D.LXXXV. (BORGHINI, *Riposo*. 8°. Milan, 1807, ii., p. 108.)

² A record discovered by Baldinucci informs us that the price paid for this altar-piece in 1447 was 1,200 Florentine lire, enough, one should think, to satisfy the wants of a painter and any number of relatives (BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, u.s., v., p. 354). The record is given in full, yet one may doubt the accuracy of the ciphers forming the price.

³ *Ibid.*, same page.

⁴ No. 248, National Gallery. St. Bernard writes his homilies at a desk placed on a table formed of the solid rock. The Virgin, attended by angels, appears before him. The panel is hexagonal and of a dull tone, very inferior to the work of 1441 at S. Ambrogio. Another piece in the Palazzo de' Signori noticed by Vasari (an Annunciation, he says) and Albertini, has perished (VASARI, ii., p. 617; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 15).

him by caresses,"¹ did not neglect other and more substantial means of securing his good will. Cosimo, indeed, appears to have had some traits of character in common with Philip the Hardy of Burgundy. His patronage of art had a higher aim than the gratification of his own sense of the beautiful. The architects whom he employed not only raised edifices for his private use, but for religious communities whose influence in the state might serve his political views. He frequently made presents of pictures; and letters written by members of his family are extant to prove that, by such presents, he sought to captivate Alfonso of Arragon and the men about his court. One of these letters, written by Giovanni de' Medici to Messer Bartolommeo Serragli at Naples in June, 1456,² contains this interesting passage:

"I note what you write respecting the high esteem in which His Majesty (Alfonso of Arragon) holds the picture. This is pleasing to me, and if the Signor Conte Deruano³ (De Rohan?) wishes to have another, you can, on your return thither, take the drawing of it, and personally solicit in the matter; and if he is in no hurry, I think you may be able to have it, particularly as Fra Filippo is now settled at Prato."⁴

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 617.

*² The date is 1458.

*³ "D'Ariano" is the correct transcription.

⁴ This most interesting letter, hitherto unpublished, is communicated by the friendly hand of Signor Jacopo Cavallucci, of Florence, and runs as follows:

Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici a Messer Bartolommeo Serragli a Napoli.

"Ho hauto una tua de dì 29 et simile prima più altre, in modo stimo haverle tutte che hai scritte. Et simile tò risposto due volte, et per la via di Roma l'ò mandate, et credo l'arai haute benche vegho vengono tarde tanto, e che damme non resta lo scriverti, et simile ti farò contra io. Intendo che la Mtà del Re è a buon termine et fuori di pericolo che mè piacere singulare. Credo pure li sarebbe giovato assai se Monsignor di Modona l'avesse potuto vedere et curare; et meravigliomi assai come chi ama la Sua Mtà non ordina che lui intenda tutto: pure si vuol presumere che a qualche buon fine si faccia. Idio provegha alla sua salute. Vegho quanto scrivi la Mtà havere stimata la tavola che mè grato. Et se il Signor Conte d'Ariano ne vuole un' altra, tornando tu in qua puoi pigliare il disegno et esserne sollecitatore. Et se lui non hara pressa, credo la potrà havere, maxime hora che fra Filippo è ridotto a Prato. Penso, che poi scrivessi, la Mtà del Re sara' suta a tal termine che harai fatto il bisogno intorno a tuo spaccio; et credo ci sarai per San Giovanni, et così t'aspettiamo che ciè buon essere. Del conte Jacopo qua si dicie lui havere hauti denari, credo sarà suto poi scrvesti, ma pochi. Di nuovo niente ciè, se non che si dicie a Genova armano sei navi grosse per mandare a Bonifazio per quelle altre sei tornano di Levante. Sentiremo alla giornata che seguirà. Nè altro, Cristo ti conservi. In Firenze a dì 10 di giugno 1458.

Tuo Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici

(Fuori) Nobili Viro Bartholomeo Serragli in Napoli.

Bartolommeo Serragli seems to have found a willing ear for the suggestions of this letter, and Giovanni de' Medici, accordingly, ordered the drawing of Fra Filippo, who forwarded it to him in a note of the 20th July, 1457.¹ This note and the correspondence which follows give a perfect picture of the conditions in which Fra Filippo usually found himself. But before we can deal with the matters which they contain we must take a retrospective glance at some facts which may help to elucidate the career of our artist.

Fra Filippo had relatives in Prato,² a small town within twenty miles of Florence, and he had had occasion to captivate by his works the superintendent of the cathedral, Geminiano Inghirami, for whom he had executed a Transit of St. Bernard,³ which is still preserved in the Duomo. Inghirami caressed the laudable ambition of adorning the choir or apsis of the edifice under his charge with paintings by a celebrated and talented master. The plan for this embellishment had been proposed as early as 1430 by Inghirami's predecessor, Niccolò Milanese,⁴ but had never been carried out. Inghirami suggested that Fra Filippo should be appointed to the duty of painting the frescoes of the choir,⁵ and we find that this suggestion had been agreed to, the painter having fixed his abode in Prato as early as June, 1456.⁶

We have seen him in Florence in 1439, complaining of poverty. In spite of his appointment to a chaplaincy in 1452, he seems to

¹ Published in GAYE, *Carteggio, u.s.*, i., p. 175. * The exact date of the above letter is 1458. Therefore the design accompanying the letter of 1457 is of an anterior date to the above letter.

² VASARI, ii., p. 620.

³ The picture represents the Deposition of St. Jerome. Supino (*op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64) would assign the picture to the year 1440, basing his conclusion on an inscription in the Duomo at Prato; but this inscription is of as late a date as 1665; and it is hard to believe that the picture was not commissioned by Inghirami during his sojourn in Prato as provost of the Duomo (1451-1460), when he built in honour of St. Jerome an oratorio there. Strutt rightly emphasizes the stylistic affinities that exist between this work and the Prato frescoes (STRUTT, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, London, 1901, p. 95).

⁴ *Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi in Prato*, by C. F. B. (Canonico F. Baldanzi), 8vo, Prato, 1835, p. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, same page.

⁶ Not 1456, but 1452. See the Documents XI. and XVII. in STRUTT, *op. cit.*, pp. 183 and 188.

have been still in difficulties. A passage in the diaries of Neri di Bicci, under the date of 1454, refers to a deposit of gold leaf made by Fra Filippo at Neri's;¹ and knowing, as we do, the usual distress of the Fra, the deposit betrays a wish to guard a valuable piece of artistic property from the grasp of urgent creditors.² The wants of the friar and the pursuit which he had to endure are clearly illustrated by the correspondence of which a part has already been quoted. On receiving from Giovanni de' Medici the order for a picture, he left the works of Prato, unwillingly, it is clear, and only after much pressing, and doubtless under tremor lest disobedience should lead him to incur the displeasure of a powerful patron. Having reached his shop at Florence in July, 1457, he wrote from thence to Giovanni de' Medici a letter enclosing a pen-sketch of a Virgin adorning the Infant Saviour between two kneeling saints, one aged, the other youthful, intended to represent St. Michael. In the letter he says: "He has done what his patron imposes upon him in the matter of the tavola. He describes the St. Michael as so far advanced that it only awaits the ornaments of gold and silver to its armour, respecting which gold, he adds, he has been to one Bartolommeo Martello, who informs him that he must arrange for it with Ser Francesco, and who reproaches him with the wrongs he had inflicted on his patron. Fra Filippo admits this wrong, humbly declares himself the slave of his protector, acknowledges an advance of fourteen florins, and asks for more, because the picture has much adornment, and three days are past since he has been able to do anything. Finally he hopes that a hundred florins will not be considered too much for the picture, which he promises to deliver on the 20th of August.³ He concludes by expressing a wish to take a speedy departure."

¹ BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, u.s., v., p. 354, quotes this passage.

* See also VASARI, ii., p. 84, note 2.

² Neri adds in another entry of the same diary that he had returned thirty pieces of the same gold to Fra Filippo, "who said he intended to apply it to a picture of St. Jerome executed for the Signore Gismondo on commission from Agnolo della Istufa." Neri's records, in the com. to Vasari's "Life" of Lorenzo de Bicci, ii., p. 84, note 2. This Signor Gismondo may well have been Sigismund Malatesta.

³ *Vide* the original letter in GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., pp. 175-6.

The anxiety of Fra Filippo is clear in this letter. He wants money and for a good reason, as appears immediately after. Ser Francesco Catansanti, who seems to have been the agent of the Medici, writes ten days later to say that he has been in Fra Filippo's shop to "make him work," and that just as he was leaving, a creditor caused a seizure to be made, the result being a sale, and the retention of some things for rent. It is no wonder under these circumstances that Fra Filippo should have been anxious to leave Florence. The year had not expired when he became "Rettore Commendatario" of the church of S. Quirico at Legnaia.¹

In 1458, Filippo's picture seems to have reached Naples, Giovanni de' Medici writing from Florence in May to Bartolommeo Serragli,² to say: "I received your letters in the last days, from which I understand that you have presented the picture to the King's Majesty, and that it pleased him fairly; and I learnt also the mistake of Fra Filippo, at which we had some merriment."³ It may be supposed by some that the mistake of Fra Filippo has reference to the seduction of Lucretia Buti, which is said to have taken place at Prato about this time, but surely such an incident as that of the abduction of a nun would have been neither a subject of comment at Naples nor a theme for merriment at Florence.

As regards the pictures of Fra Filippo, thus despatched by the Medici to Naples, no trace of them is now discoverable.⁴ The legend of Vasari as to the friar's landing and painting for Alfonso finds a natural explanation in the incidents that have just been described. No picture by Fra Filippo exists at Naples, unless one should assign to him a panel in the Museum representing the Virgin Mary seated, whilst two angels present to her

¹ See *antea*.

² The date of the arrival of the picture at Naples is confirmed by a letter of June 10 of that year. See *antea*.

³ See the original in GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., p. 180.

⁴ The wings of the triptych of the king of Naples, with SS. Michael and Bernard, are now in the collection of Sir F. Cook at Richmond. They correspond exactly with the design sent by Fra Filippo with the letter dated July 20, 1457. They were from a collection at Madrid, and were perhaps brought to that city from Naples at the time of the fall of the House of Aragon (see H. Cook, *Les Arts*, August, 1905, p. 4).

the Infant Christ, a picture akin in composition to one in the Uffizi¹ and like others of the same subject in the church of the Hospital degli Innocenti at Florence² and in the National Gallery.³ The style of the latter and that of the Naples piece are similar, and reveal the hand of a painter combining the manner of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi.⁴

The Transit of St. Bernard⁵ executed for Geminiano Inghirami of Prato is a fine and well-preserved example of Fra Filippo's style, but less powerful than the earlier and much-injured Coronation of the Virgin in the Academy of Arts at Florence, or the altarpiece of S. Spirito. Still the groups are well put together, the figures animated and in good action.

The saint lies on a richly ornamented couch, bewailed by monks in clumps at the head and foot and by a solitary friar in the centre of the further side. In the middle of the foreground, a cripple stretches out his hand towards the bed, to be cured of his ailment, and at the sides kneel a monk (left) and Inghirami in prelate's robes (right). Numerous small episodes enliven the distance of hills; and in the air, the Saviour, in a glory of angels, looks down, whilst the Eternal above him gives a benediction.

About the time when this work was finished and before the frescoes of the choir were begun, Fra Filippo was employed, if Vasari's story be credible, in painting a picture for the high altar of the convent chapel of S. Margherita of Prato.⁶ Whilst he was busy on this piece he saw and fell in love with Lucretia Buti,⁷ who had been sent there, either to be taken care of, or as a novice, by Francesco Buti, her father, a citizen of Florence. Having ascertained her name, and seeing that she was graceful and of pleasant mien, he obtained permission from the nuns to

¹ No. 1,307, see *postea*.

² The picture is in a room contiguous to the sacristy.

* It is now in the little Gallery of the Hospital.

³ No. 589, *Nat. Gal. Catal.*

⁴ Another picture in the Naples Museum which recalls the manner of Fra Filippo is one assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio representing the Annunciation between SS. Andrew and John.

* ⁵ Not of St. Bernard, but of St. Jerome.

⁶ VASARI, *ii.*, p. 620.

* ⁷ Having been chaplain of the convent from 1456, he had plenty of opportunities for seeing Lucretia Buti. Because of the scandal he lost his chaplaincy.

take her as a model for a figure of the Virgin. He could not resist the opportunity thus offered to him, and after some wooing, he induced Lucretia to sacrifice herself to him and took her home after a visit to the exhibition of the girdle. The sisters of S. Margherita did their utmost to recover Lucretia, but without avail; and the fruit of this illicit intercourse was Filippino Lippi, a certain painter of some fame after the death of Fra Filippo.

This story, as has been remarked, rests upon the sole testimony of Vasari, and, as such, requires corroboration.¹ Contingent circumstances tend to create considerable doubts of Vasari's truth, and these facts may be stated in a few words. The Pitti Gallery at Florence² is adorned with one of the finest Madonnas of Fra Filippo.

It is a circular picture representing the half-length Virgin seated in a chair with the Infant Saviour, all but naked, on her knee. In her left hand she holds a pomegranate which the Saviour grasps with his right, whilst, looking up, he holds a few of the red grains in his left. In the distance to the left, S. Anna lies in bed; and the Infant Virgin is in the arms of one of the nurses. At the bedside, a grand figure, nearer the spectator, seems by a gesture to announce the arrival of a female servant behind him with a basket on her head. To the right, two females, with presents, and one accompanied by a child, ascend the steps leading to the apartment. On a distant flight at the same side is the meeting of Joachim and Anna.

This group of the Virgin and Child reminds one forcibly of those by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano. The type of the Virgin's head, like most of those of Fra Filippo, is oval and modelled broadly in a low and flattened relief. The neck is, as

*¹ The whole story has now been corroborated by unimpeachable documentary evidence. (See MILANESI, in VASARI, ii., p. 633 *et seq.*). It is now proved that, in the year 1457, Lucrezia fled from the monastery to join Fra Filippo, and that Filippino Lippi was the child of this union. Two years later she repented and re-entered the convent. But in the year 1461, she was again at the friar's house in company with her sister Spinetta. Finally, she became the lawful wife of Filippo Lippi.

² No. 343, Gal. Pitti.

* This is the tondo commissioned by Leonardo di Bartolommeo Bartolini, before he went to Prato. It was completed in 1452. See the document in GUASTI, "*I quadri della Galleria e altri oggetti d'arte del Comune di Prato.*" Prato, 1838, p. 110, Doc. vii.



MADONNA AND CHILD

BY FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

From a picture in the Pitti Gallery, Florence

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usual, slender, whilst the child is healthy, robust, and short-necked, a peculiarity of extreme infancy. The drawing and the modelling of flesh remind us that the age was one in which the laws of bas-relief were followed in painting. The group of mother and child, though noble and pleasing, is no longer conceived in the form of Angelico, or on the principles of the severely religious times. It is maternal, affectionate, but of earth—not vulgar, but also not ideal. It represents the phase of art which Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael carried out more nobly and with more experience in their creations of the same kind. Fra Filippo is more real than they were; but he already inaugurates a new phase. Family joys, the friendly greetings and presents of such an occasion are celebrated in the episodes of the distance, which at the same time illustrate again, by their arrangement and the distribution of the spaces, the vigour with which the laws of bas-relief grouping were applied by Fra Filippo. The head of the Virgin is said, on what grounds it is difficult now to say, to be a portrait of Lucretia Buti.

A Nativity once in S. Margherita of Prato¹ and now in the Louvre is assigned to Fra Filippo Lippi,² and described as that in which the friar painted the likeness of Lucretia.

The Virgin kneels on the left before the naked Infant, whilst St. Joseph kneels in meditation opposite to her. Two angels in horizontal flight survey the scene, and the dove sends down rays to the Saviour. Lizards and a bird crawl or perch amidst the stones of the ruin in which Christ has been ushered to the world, and the ox and ass peer out from the centre of the building, over which are remnants of rafters and thatch. In the distance to the left, three shepherds rest with their flocks.

The truth in a few words respecting this picture is, that it betrays the education, the character, and the technical style, not of Fra Filippo, but of a painter belonging to the naturalist class of Uccello, Castagno, Baldovinetti, and the Peselli. It is in fact a work such as Francesco Peselli or Pesellino might have produced,

*¹ It is not certain that this picture was ever at S. Margherita of Prato.

² No. 233. An engraving of this piece is in the *Etruria Pittrice*, and in BALDANZI, *Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi, u.s.*

and which was, probably, painted by him under the influence of the Carmelite.

Fra Filippo, whose works are reminiscent of those created by Masolino and Angelico, lost some of his early timidity as he felt his power increase. From first to last, however, even to the time when he executed the frescoes of Spoleto, he maintained the same technical style, the same principle of colouring. The Louvre altarpiece is painted in a style different in every respect from his. It is of a hard and high impasto, of a dull yellowish tint in flesh. The composition is marked by features common to many artists of the time, Fra Filippo included; but the picture may strike the spectator as more nearly akin in this respect to Baldovinetti's Nativity in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata at Florence;¹ and a close comparison of the two pieces will show that the resemblance may be traced further in a peculiar feeling which is common to the naturalists already mentioned. The composition is essentially one that might have been produced by Baldovinetti or the Peselli; and we shall see that the same verdict may be given as regards colour, drawing, and action. There is a realism in the Louvre Nativity which precludes the exhibition of sentiment. The angel, partly foreshortened in the upper right corner of the picture, is as much in the character of that in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata as it is foreign to the character of Fra Filippo. The draperies, the heads, the realistic nude, the colour, the tempera, and consequently the technical method and execution, are as different from those of Fra Filippo as they are like to those of the Peselli and Baldovinetti. The Louvre Nativity may thus be classed with some certainty amongst the works of the Peselli.

Vasari tells how Pesellino imitated the manner of Fra Filippo,² and mentions in terms of just praise a predella added by the former to an altarpiece by the latter.³ This predella is still in existence and reveals something of the technical style of the master, with more of the manner of Pesellino.

A predella representing the Massacre of the Innocents, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple, is

¹ Dr. Waagen, a long time since, had assigned this picture to Baldovinetti. See *Louvre Catal.* (1849), where his opinion is contested.

² VASARI, iii., p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, iii., p. 38.

preserved in the municipal gallery of Prato¹ and described as belonging to the Louvre altarpiece. The compositions are good, and there is more of Fra Filippo's manner in them than in the Nativity. Still this is no reason for assigning to the Carmelite a picture like that of Paris, displaying none of his characteristic features.² As regards Lucretia Buti, it is clear that no arguments can rest on an uncertain painting. But be this as it may, no resemblance is apparent between the Virgin at the Pitti and that of the Louvre. The Gallery of Prato boasts of a genuine though not very favourable example of Lippi's style whose subject tends to confirm the suggestion of numerous critics, that it may have once belonged to the convent of S. Margherita of Prato.³ The Virgin, enthroned in an almond-shaped glory carried by angels, gives the girdle to St. Thomas. A canonised bishop⁴ and the archangel leading Tobit attend to the right; and to the left stand St. Gregory and a fine figure of St. Margaret presenting to the Virgin a kneeling Franciscan nun. Tradition does not assign to the latter the name or the features of Lucretia Buti;⁵ but there is no doubt of the genuineness of the picture, although a coarse execution attributable to a pupil may be remarked in the figures of the bishop, the archangel, and Tobit.⁶

These, however, are not the only pictures which prove the length of Fra Filippo's stay in Prato and the demand for his

¹ No. 22.

² The Lombardi collection at Florence once possessed two angels similar to those in the Nativity of the Louvre. They are assigned to Fra Filippo. A much-injured fragment of a predella representing the Adoration of the Magi was in the same collection. The style is similar to that of predella No. 22 in the Municipal Gallery at Prato. * The predella of Prato is certainly in Fra Filippo Lippi's manner. There is no evidence that it has any connection with the Louvre Nativity.

³ VASARI, ii., p. 620. The same suggestion is made by the compilers of the Prato Gallery Catalogue, where this picture is numbered No. 11.

⁴ This figure represents St. Augustine.

⁵ The kneeling nun must be the abbess of the Bovacchiesi, who, according to Vasari, commissioned Fra Filippo to paint the picture. Additional confirmation of the theory that it was executed for the convent of S. Margherita may be found in the fact that both St. Margaret and St. Augustine—whose rule the nuns professed—are to be found in the picture. Some writers regard the figure of St. Margaret in this picture as a portrait of Lucrezia Buti: others find her presentment in the Madonna of the Bartolini *tondo*. All these theories are founded on mere conjecture.

⁶ The execution is like that of a picture that shall be mentioned presently in possession of Signor Berti at Prato, attributed to Fra Diamante, see *postea*, p. 179.

creations in that place. A family altarpiece, once in the Ceppo, and now in the Municipal Gallery,¹ represents the Virgin and Child on gold ground, between SS. Stephen and John the Baptist whilst in front to the left Francesco di Marco Datini recommends to the Virgin four of the poor members² of the Ceppo, of which he was the founder.³ This is a piece in which much of Fra Filippo's feeling still remains, though it is discoloured by exposure "above a well in a court," says Vasari.⁴

But the finest altarpiece of Fra Filippo at Prato is the Nativity in the refectory of S. Domenico,⁵ where the Infant lying on the ground is adored by the Virgin and St. Joseph, between SS. George and Dominic⁶ in a rocky landscape in which the shepherds play, whilst six magnificent angels sing canticles in the sky. The head of St. Dominic⁶ is turned upwards towards a miniature apparition of the Infant Redeemer in a corner of the sky.⁷ The colour of this fine altarpiece is low in consequence of long exposure to dust, but it was no doubt originally in Fra Filippo's best style; and the type of the Virgin is a fine one even amongst the master's best.⁸

When Fra Filippo undertook to paint the choir of the Pieve of Prato, he was asked to illustrate the lives of St. John the Baptist

¹ No. 21, noted by VASARI ii., p. 621, 622.

*² These are the four "proviviri."

*³ This picture was executed in 1453, as is proved by an entry dated May 28, 1453, which is to be found in a *Libro di Spese* of the Archivio del Ceppo of Prato.

⁴ The grey under preparation has been laid bare. The figures are all but life-size.

*⁵ This picture is now in the Municipal Gallery.

*⁶ Not St. Dominic, but St. Vincent Ferrers.

⁷ In the distance also is the pent-house, the ox, and the ass. The figures are two-thirds of life-size. This picture is noted by VASARI (ii., p. 621), who adds that the church of S. Domenico at Prato possessed two altarpieces by Fra Filippo.

⁸ The manner of Fra Filippo or his school may likewise be discerned in a Presentation at the Temple belonging to S. Spirito of Prato and assigned there to Botticelli. This church was formerly that of the convent de' Servi di Maria. The altarpiece comprises ten figures of almost life-size. The Virgin in the centre presents the Infant to Simeon between St. Bartholomew, two canonised bishops, and another saint. Nearer the foreground at the sides are two brothers of the Servi. The picture is in a very bad state from repainting in oil and subsequent neglect.

* This picture was commissioned by the friars of S. Spirito in 1446, and in 1468 was already on the high altar of the church. It is, therefore, the friar's last work at Prato. See STRUTT, *op. cit.*, p. 125, and Doc. XIX. on p. 189.



ST. JOHN LEAVING HIS FATHER'S HOUSE

BY FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

From a fresco in the Cathedral, Prato

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and St. Stephen, the first being the protector of the Florentine rule under which Prato was included, the second being the titular saint of the church and the special patron of the town. When he began the work entrusted to him in the early part of 1456,¹ he naturally gave his first attention to the story of St. John the Baptist, which covers the lunette and lower courses of the right side of the choir.

The lunette is divided into two rooms, the furthest of which contains a majestic figure of St. Elizabeth on her couch. A servant at the bedside hands the infant to the nurses to be washed. The nearest presents to us Zacharias, seated in the middle of the space writing the name, whilst the infant is held by a nurse in a stooping attitude at his knee, in presence of a standing figure on the right holding an ink-bottle.

In the next lower course is St. John's parting from his parents, with a distant episode in which he kneels near a bridge on a stream in a distance of rocks. A tree and the stream part this episode from the next portion of the same course, in which the Baptist appears in benediction approaching from the distance, and again may be seen erect on a rock in the act of preaching to a multitude partly seated, partly standing.² The next course, beneath the foregoing, occupies not only the side, but part also of the end wall of the choir, and represents, in a succession of divisions from left to right, the decapitation, the transfer of the head to the daughter of Herodias,³ and the dance. In this composition the board is disposed in perspective on three sides of a rectangle with numerous guests behind it. Salomé, on the right, kneels as she presents the head to Herod,⁴ who sits shrinking with Herodias⁵ at a special table, whilst two very handsome females in the foreground have fallen into each other's arms in a close embrace. To the left of the space Salomé dances with great dexterity.⁶

One may note as particularly admirable, in the first fresco of the series, the arrangement of the persons and the distribution of

* ¹ That Fra Filippo began to fresco the choir as early as 1452 is proved by two documents of that year already quoted. See STRUTT, *op. cit.*, Doc. XI. and XVII., pp. 183 and 188.

² The auditory is in part damaged by an eruption of salt on the wall.

* ³ It represents the Presentation of the head to Herodias.

* ⁴ To Herodias, not to Herod.

* ⁵ For Herodias read Herod.

⁶ The colour is injured by restoring, rendered necessary by damage incurred from damp. The fresco is indeed in a bad condition generally, and some figures of musicians are almost obliterated.

the space. With great nature and truth in the action and attitudes, the figures, in their grand lines, form a composition on the pyramidal principle—a principle carried out with equally good effect in the neighbouring episode of the imposition of the name. The female with the ink-bottle, Michaelangesque in stature, motion, and drapery, forms, as it were, the apex of a composition admirably distributed in reference to the retreating perspective of the apartment. But the group which best illustrates a practice familiar at a later time to Fra Bartolommeo and Michael Angelo, is that of the parting of St. John. Elizabeth stoops to grasp her son for the last time to her bosom. Zacharias looks down upon them and rests himself on a pole, and the pyramid is completed by the servant in the rear looking on. The resulting form of the combined contours might rouse the envy of a sculptor of bas-reliefs, so perfect is its arrangement. Divide the group as one will, the result is always a beautiful harmony of lines. In each figure, Lippi lavished the feeling proper to the development of its character, casting it into a large though slender mould and giving it grace of motion and of form.¹

Less important but equally characteristic peculiarities of the master may be traced in the fresco of the Dance. Lippi's usual stamp of features, pinched types, angularly cut eyes, and flattened planes of flesh, may be noticed in the two females embracing each other. Their richly ornamented and embroidered costume, studded with precious stones, their remarkable head-dresses, illustrate a tendency usual in Lippi, and at the same time give an insight into the fashions of the period. Michael Angelo, whom Vasari² describes as an imitator and admirer of Lippi in many things, was clearly partial to the friar's mode of ornamenting female heads. The surprise of some of the guests at the table, the musicians playing in the distance,³ the springy activity in the dance of the daughter of Herodias,⁴ give a restless animation to the scene, whose brilliancy is increased by the richness of the dresses, the wealth apparent in the architecture and accessories

¹ One may note as a fine figure also that in thought on the right foreground of the Sermon of St. John.

² Vol. ii., p. 626.

³ In the distance to the left.

⁴ The costumes, curling locks, types, and character recall the works of Sandro Botticelli.

of cupboards crowned with vases. Yet the composition, in spite of its grandeur, is marked by a certain want of equilibrium and decorous simplicity.

The opposite side of the choir is devoted to the life of St. Stephen.

The Birth in the lunette has been excellently described by Monsignor Baldanzi as follows:¹ "Inside a room the mother reposes in a dignified attitude on her couch. Between her and the spectator stands a dame whose ample draperies and dignified mien reveal an elevated condition. To the left, by the chief entrance, a youthful female carries presents in a basket on her head. At the foot of the opposite side of the bed is a maid-servant. In the foreground is a cradle for the newborn child. But the moment is that when a phantom with large black wings and feet like claws has removed the child from its bed, and holding it in the left hand substitutes with the right another infant. The suspicious motion of the figure suggests a fraudulent exchange. A nurse sleeps with her head on the end of the cradle, and a boy who sees the wonder is too much afraid to cry out." The next fresco shows the spectator the recovery of the child, abandoned by the demon, but saved by a deer. In the next lower course, St. Stephen goes through the rite of ordination. He kneels and embraces the hand of the bishop. A fine figure in front to the left holds the crozier before a group of spectators. More to the right, St. Stephen is embraced by the owner of a house who seems about to lead him into an apartment, where a madman lies bound and surrounded by devils. Finally, to the right, St. Stephen disputes in the synagogue. In the third course the death of St. Stephen is represented. The saint lies in state in the centre of a church bewailed by two females who sit in grief at his head and feet. On the left, the clergy perform the funeral service, on the right is a standing group of prelates and churchmen, prominent amongst whom is Carlo de' Medici, superintendent of the Prato cathedral after the death of Geminiano Inghirami in 1460. These groups stand on a platform, at the side of which to the left are the words: FRATER FILIPPS, OP.

In a corner to the right of this fresco Fra Filippo introduced the episode of the stoning of St. Stephen which has been greatly damaged by damp and by, perhaps, necessary restoring.²

The end wall of the choir, lighted by a window, is adorned with

¹ *Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi*, etc, *u.s.*, pp. 31 and following.

² A group much praised by VASARI (*il.*, pp. 623, 624).

figures of SS. Giovanni Gualberto and Albert. The glass of the window, representing the Virgin's gift of the girdle to St. Thomas, was executed in 1459 by Prete Lorenzo da Pelago,¹ from designs which seem to have been furnished by the Fra, so much do they remind one of his style. In the segments of the ceiling, the four evangelists and their symbols are depicted, each being seated on clouds under prismatic arches on a star-bespangled sky and in the midst of choirs of angels.

The frescoes of this side are not better preserved than the rest, if we except that of the Death of St. Stephen. The four evangelists of the ceiling are well placed in the spaces; and their colossal frames remind one much of those of Angelico. But their forms and action prove them to be of Fra Filippo's latest time.

One of the interruptions caused to this great work has already been noticed. Another occurred in 1461, when Fra Filippo proceeded to Perugia to value the frescoes of Benedetto Buonfigli in the chapel of the Palazzo del Comune.² But these were not the only instances in which the friar neglected his duties at Prato. In November, 1463,³ the representatives of the town met for the purpose of resolving in what manner Fra Filippo could be forced to complete the work for which he had already received part payment;⁴ and again, in April, 1464, the four deputies elected to audit the painter's accounts reported to the "Magistrato" that there was little chance of his completing the contract, unless Messer Carlo de' Medici should interfere and fix the absolute limit of time in which the work should be finished. These incidents have led at least one writer to insinuate⁵ that the irregularities of the painter and the natural irritation of the authorities were caused by the consequences of the seduction of Lucretia Buti; but it is only necessary to remark that two facts are clear in the life of Fra Filippo. He was burdened with relatives, and hence, in spite of large earnings, in continual debt. These are fair reasons for charges of irregularity. It is hard

¹ *Delle Pitture di Fra Filippo*, by Monsignore BALDANZI, u.s., p. 20.

² MARIOTTI, *Lettere Pittoriche*, u.s., p. 132.

³ November 21. *Diurno della Comunità*, in Baldanzi, u.s., p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Monsignor BALDANZI, in *Pitture di Fra Filippo*, u.s., p. 14.

indeed to conceive that the protection even of the Medici should have availed to protect Fra Filippo in Prato from the revenge of the nuns of S. Margherita, or of Francesco Buti,¹ if he had been really guilty of the offence which is laid to his charge. It is obvious that, either with or without the interference of Carlo de' Medici, Fra Filippo was finally induced to complete the work of the choir, and thus, that, if justly accused, he must have braved the anger of his enemies. The last and finest fresco of the series in the Prato cathedral is clearly that which contains the portrait of Carlo de' Medici, and may have been executed after that prelate had been induced by the representations of the auditors to require of the painter the fulfilment of his obligations. It is the least injured of all those which adorn the walls of the choir, and is one in which the master exhibited in the fullest measure his feeling for colour, his power in the conception and design of majestic forms, his breadth of pictorial treatment. There is a conscious mastery of hand in the bold throw of the colossal figures on the wall, a life and power in the action and in the expression of the faces which reveal the exuberant nature of the artist. The wide nostrils, the tumid lips are depicted by one advanced in the study and reproduction of form. The groups are bound together with some art. But Fra Filippo is still inferior to Giotto and Masaccio in unity of distribution, the quality for which Ghirlandaio after him was grand. The figure of Carlo de' Medici is excellent, and foreshadows the great manner of the sixteenth century, so rich is its nature, so grand and distinguished its mien, so individual the portraiture. The draperies too are broad and admirable. "In the group of men who mourn over St. Stephen, Fra Filippo," says Vasari, "painted his own likeness in the black dress of a prelate, with his disciple, Fra Diamante."² The engravings of this group³ generally point out the painter as standing at the extreme left rear of those who

*¹ Francesco Buti had died in 1450. Lucrezia's brother Antonio must have been very angry with the friar, as it seems that it was he who had induced his sisters to enter the convent. Notwithstanding the protection of the Medici and the leniency of the Pope, Fra Filippo lost his chaplaincy at S. Margherita and part of his office as rector of S. Quirico a Legnaia.

² VASARI, ii., p. 624.

³ See an engraving of it in *Pitture di Fra Filippo*, by BALDANZI, u.s.

surround Carlo de' Medici in the fresco described by Vasari. This figure wears a violet skull-cap, a black flowered silk mantle, and appears rather to be the chief of the chapter of Prato. Behind this personage, whose right hand is opened and raised whilst his left grasps the end of the cloak thrown over his shoulder, is another, whose head is alone visible, but whose cap is also of violet colour. This is usually declared to be a portrait of Fra Diamante. The costumes alone might suggest a doubt in this respect. But there are other reasons for believing that the portraits are not properly described. The so-called Lippi at Prato is not like the portrait in the altarpiece of S. Ambrogio, now in the Florence Academy of Arts. It is not like the bust on the monument erected to Fra Filippo's memory at Spoleto. There is one figure in the Prato fresco, however, which satisfies all these requirements. It is that of a man at the extreme right of the whole composition, showing to the spectator a full face, a head covered with a black skull-cap, and a black dress. This figure is like one in the fresco of the burial of the Virgin at Spoleto and stands in the same attitude. Both resemble the bust on the painter's monument at Spoleto. Here therefore is the true portrait of Fra Filippo.¹

The last days of our painter were spent at Spoleto,² where he adorned the ~~apais~~^{apse} of the cathedral with scenes from the life of the Virgin. The same spirit which dictated his arrangement of St. Stephen's death-bed in the Duomo of Prato was evinced by him in depicting the death of the Virgin in the hemicycle of the

¹ As regards Fra Diamante we have no means of judging.

* The frescoes of the Pieve, begun in 1452, were only finished in 1465. But during these thirteen years, notwithstanding his love affair, he found time to complete a large number of important works, of which several are preserved and have already been described, whilst several others are lost. For example, we know nothing of the picture that he painted for Lorenzo Manetti in 1459, regarding which there was a dispute as to the price, nor of the other works for the Ceppo, for which he received payment in 1456 (see G. GUASTI, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note 5), nor of the three lunettes that he painted in the cloister of S. Francesco above the tomb of Geminiano Inghirami between 1459 and 1460, as is proved by documents. See G. GUASTI, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

* ² Fra Filippo was invited to paint in this city in 1464 through Cosimo de' Medici. In 1465 he finished his frescoes in the choir of Prato Cathedral, but in March, 1467, he was still in the Tuscan city. It was probably in 1467 that he went to Spoleto.

choir of Spoleto. The recumbent Mary on her couch, the apostles reciting the funeral service at her head, the groups of churchmen¹ and angels at her feet, the two mourning females between the couch and the spectator were arranged in the symmetrical form already carried out before. At Spoleto, however, the scene is laid on a platform of rocks, whose spurs extend to the distance, in which the Saviour, in an almond-shaped glory, receives his Mother as a youthful girl to his bosom. The skeleton outlines of this group,² which was evidently painted over the distance, suggest some observations as to the technical methods which the artists of Fra Filippo's century, himself included, commonly employed in covering large wall surfaces. They merely applied on a large scale the system familiar to them in the execution of panels. Their mastery in both was due to their constant practice in mural and in panel painting. At a later period the use of oil and varnish mediums confined the activity of most painters to smaller spaces, imposed upon them new cares and minute rules, and accustomed them to leisure. It deprived them of experience in the handling of colours moistened with fluids other than oil; and thus curtailed their chances of success when they were entrusted with wall spaces to adorn. Buon fresco, it is true, became more general, but its difficulties were greater than those of wall tempera. Still the Florentines were those who most excelled in the practice of buon fresco, because their previous experience had partly initiated them to its difficulties. The Venetians, who confined themselves more especially to oil, were unable to develop their talent in a similar ratio when they attempted fresco, and were *a fortiori* inferior to the Florentines.

At the sides of the picture of the Virgin's death in the choir of Spoleto, Fra Filippo depicted the Annunciation and the Nativity.³ The first is in the spirit of Angelico's conception of the same subject, and his pictures are conjured up before the

¹ These are four in number. That which is most in front is one to which allusion has been made in foregoing remarks as to the portrait of Fra Filippo Lippi.

² The group is in fact obliterated, with the exception of the outlines.

³ The Annunciation to the left, the Nativity to the right.

beholder's eyes, when he looks upon the angel presenting himself in the mouth of a portico, in the form of those common to the Dominican, and to Masolino at Castiglione di Olona,¹ upon the Virgin's graceful surprise as she receives the message, or upon the Eternal, whose rays fall upon her through a window that lights the gallery. A certain coquetry of surprise, however, brings one back to the reality and to Fra Filippo.²

The Nativity recalls to mind the composition of the Louvre altarpiece.³ It has the same incidental accessories, but the style, being that of the friar, is different. The three angels, kneeling on the clouds, are in the spirit of the Dominican of Fiesole; and the shepherds are not realistic like those of Baldovinetti or of the Peselli.⁴

The semidome of the ^{apse} ~~apsis~~ is filled with a group of the Saviour crowning the Virgin on a throne, in a circular glory, and attendant groups of angels, sybils, and prophets. The sun which shines above the centre of the composition parts two large figures of angels who overlook the whole scene. Injured by damp, and impaired in value by the loss of entire groups and the repainting of the two angels whose position has just been described, this fresco is overcharged with figures; yet the mode of placing the principal group, and of introducing the prophets and the sybils kneeling in the lowest course of the hierarchy, found imitation amongst the painters who soon after signalised their talents in Spoleto and its neighbourhood. Spagna repeated the Coronation at S. Jacopo of Spoleto in 1521,⁵ and in company with Vincenzo da S. Gimignano, commonly called "Tamagni," copied the Death of the Virgin in the frescoes at S. Maria of Arrone. Fra Filippo's stay at Spoleto may thus be said to have inaugurated an epoch in the Papal State, whilst, on the contrary, the later Umbrian school, which shows no trace of his influence,

¹ A small and pretty Annunciation, in the style of Fra Filippo, is in the sacristy of the collegiate church of Castiglione di Olona.

² The distance is a garden whose trees are seen above the wall of the court. The wings of the announcing angel are gone, as are likewise the blues of the Eternal's and Virgin's draperies.

³ No. 233.

⁴ The blues here also are all injured. The angels are finely preserved; but the green dress of the central one is repainted in the lights.

* ⁵ Not in 1521, but in 1526-8.

was impressed unmistakably with the stamp of the inferior talent of Benozzo Gozzoli—a fact which can only be explained on the supposition that the inferior art of Benozzo was more within the reach of the Umbrians than the nobler style of the Carmelite.

After Spagna had moulded his manner in a measure upon that of Fra Filippo, Bernardino Campilius of Spoleto followed his example, and displayed a mixture of the styles of Fra Filippo and Spagna.¹ Later painters all followed the latter.

But, in conclusion, and before leaving the frescoes of Lippi at Spoleto, one may say of the whole series that it was produced to a certain extent under unfavourable circumstances arising out of the inevitable curves of the spaces which form the apsis. Still, though the compositions might have been better, there are many groups in the Coronation especially which are well conceived, and many pretty incidents, amongst which those of angels handing flowers to each other may be numbered. Lippi's special charm of colour is not to be found in paintings whose state is more than usually bad. But some parts have been sufficiently preserved, to show that the execution was more hasty than usual. Fra Filippo, it must be remembered, did not finish these frescoes; and Fra Diamante is known to have received two hundred ducats for his share in completing them in 1470.² Means are not at hand for deciding the part taken by each of the artists individually, but it is evident on a consideration of the whole series that it is inferior to that of the Prato Duomo.

Fra Filippo died at Spoleto in 1469,³ poisoned, according to Vasari, by the relatives of a lady who had already taken the place of Lucretia Buti in the affections of the amorous friar;⁴ and (to celebrate his vices?) a monument was erected some years

*¹ The only known work of Bernardino Campilius, the fresco now in the Pinacoteca of Spoleto, is of the year 1502, and therefore anterior to the time of Spagna's activity. Rather is it the style of Pinturicchio that we find in it mingled with influences of Fra Filippo.

*² VASARI, ii., p. 629. Vasari says that he received three hundred ducats, Baldanzi two hundred and ten.

*³ The register of his death is in the books of the Carmine, where it seems to have been written after the erection of the tomb at Spoleto. See the original record in note to VASARI, ii., p. 628, note 2. * The date is October 9.

*⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 628.

later by Filippino Lippi at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the cathedral of Spoleto.¹ The epitaph of a monk supposed to have been guilty of infamous moral conduct was written by the witty Politian.

Before parting, however, with Fra Filippo a duty still remains to be performed. We must bring together a concise catalogue of such of his works as have not found a place in the narrative of his life. This catalogue may begin with notices of his pictures in Italian galleries:—

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts*. No. 55. Originally in S. Croce, with a predella by Pesellino and therefore executed before 1457, the date of Pesellino's death.² Subject, the Virgin and Child, between SS. Francis, Damian, Cosimo, and Anthony of Padua. This work is not one of the best of the master.

Nos. 263 and 264. Fragment representing the Virgin Annunciate and St. Anthony, the angel, and St. John the Baptist.³

FLORENCE, *Uffizi*. No. 1307. Originally in the chapel of the Casa Medici. A very fine example. The Virgin, half life-size, is seated on the left, and with joined hands adores the Infant Saviour, held up to her by two angels. This picture is composed on the pyramidal principle already described. The types are as choice as the composition is fine, and there is much feeling in the expression of the Virgin. The colour is bright, soft, and clear.

*¹ The simple marble monument, removed in the seventeenth century, was restored to its original position under the organ in 1905, but the remains of the friar were not brought back there. See SORDINI, in *Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria*, 1906, p. 141 *et seq.*

*² The approximate date of the Medici picture of S. Croce is about 1450. Fra Filippo had other artistic relations with Pesellino. The celebrated picture of the Trinity of Pesellino, of which the central portion is preserved in London, was completed in 1459 and 1460 by Fra Filippo in Prato. The price of the whole work was two hundred florins, of which the friar received one hundred and fifteen, which points to the conclusion that the friar painted the greater part of the work. It seems probable that the four side panels now lost were by him, but there is no ground for supposing that the predella is by him. The documents do not speak of a predella painted by the friar, as Bacci, who published them, seems to think. The predella of this picture is believed to be that owned by the Cav. Antonio Gelli of Pistoia. See P. BACCI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, pp. 160 *et seq.*

*³ No. 44, in the same collection, representing a St. Jerome, is not by Fra Filippo. It has the character of No. 91, a St. Jerome, No. 93, a St. John the Baptist, assigned to Andrea del Castagno (see *antea*). All three, however, are in the style of the decline of Filippino.



MADONNA AND CHILD

By FRA FILIPPO LIPPI

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

IV.—To face page 172

An admirable drawing of this picture, by Fra Filippo himself, is in the Uffizi collection¹ on coloured paper, with lights touched in white.² The same composition—with the exception that the Infant is presented to the Virgin by one angel, and that the Virgin is not in prayer, but in the act of taking the Child—is in the

*Chiesa degli Innocenti (sacristy) at Florence.*³

FLORENCE, *Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi*. Here is a round (originally a square) representing S. Lorenzo enthroned between SS. Cosimo and Damian. In front to the left are two youths kneeling. In front to the right an aged person kneeling. The gold of this picture is new and the figures are more or less restored. Two full-length saints, originally part of the picture in its old state, are in the rooms of the same gallery, in a very bad state. The picture is that noted by Vasari⁴ as painted by commission of Messer Alessandro degli Alessandri for his chapel at Vincigliata.

FLORENCE, *Gallery of Prince Strozzi*. A picture by the master representing the Annunciation, arranged in the style of Angelico, with the usual portico and a pretty landscape. A small but injured example.

FLORENCE, S. Lorenzo. The Annunciation, noted by Vasari,⁵ is one of the fine works of the master, but injured and necessarily restored. In the predella are three scenes from the life of the Virgin.⁶ This altarpiece, in the Cappella degli Operai, is mentioned by Albertini.⁷ Another

¹ No. 1,179, at the Uffizi, representing St. Augustine in study, is certainly not by Fra Filippo, but is either by Filippino or Botticelli. The subject is that of a picture mentioned by VASARI (ii., p. 626). Two other pictures at the Uffizi Gallery assigned to the school of Fra Filippo No. 15—a Virgin and Child and a bust picture of the same subject No. 1,286, may be noticed later under Botticelli.

*² This drawing is a copy. The original drawings of the master are very rare. Perhaps only four are known. These are (1) the drawing for the picture at Naples referred to above (see *antea*, p. 155); (2) a study for a fresco—one of the life of St. Stephen series in the Duomo at Prato—which is in London (see BERENSON, *Drawings*, etc.); (3) a figure of a kneeling woman which is in the Beckerath collection, now in the Kupferstich-kabinett at Berlin (see F. SCHOTTMÜLLER, in *Jahrbuch d. K. K. Preuss. Künsts*, 1907, p. 38); and (4) a draped figure of a woman standing beside a sarcophagus or tomb, formerly in the collection of the Marchese di Serra, now in possession of Messrs. Obach & Co., London.

*³ Now in the little gallery annexed to the church.

⁴ Vol. ii., p. 627.

⁵ Vol. ii., p. 618.

*⁶ In the predella are represented scenes from the life of S. Niccolò, not of the Virgin. From this it seems to be probable, as the authors surmise elsewhere (see the Italian edition of this work, vol. v., p. 222, note 4) that this predella did not belong originally to the Annunciation but to another picture.

⁷ *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 126.

picture in the same church mentioned both by Vasari and Albertini is not now to be found.¹

ROME, *Doria Gallery*. Here is an Annunciation with figures three-quarters the life-size, executed with some religious feeling, but somewhat slight in execution. The flesh tones are a little flat; and the work may have been executed in Fra Filippo's atelier with the aid of pupils.

TURIN, *Academy of Fine Arts*. No. 140, two bishops. No. 141, a bishop, St. Anthony Abbot, all but life size, assigned to Giovenone (part of a picture).² These pieces are much injured, but are by Lippi, some of whose defects are prominent enough.³

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,007. Under the name of Masolino, a life-size Annunciation in the spirit of Angelico, much injured.⁴

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,005. The Annunciation is here again represented in the same feeling as the foregoing. The angel kneels before the Virgin, the Eternal sends down the dove of the Holy Ghost, and to the left a figure appears about to enter. This much-damaged piece may be an early creation of Fra Filippo. It answers Richa's description of an altarpiece in the convent of the Murate at Florence.⁵

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,006. Half-length Virgin and Child almost life-size; a genuine work of the master.⁶

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 58. A half-length of the Virgin and Child in an arched niche, a picture of Fra Filippo which corresponds with Vasari's description of one at Florence in the *Magistrato degli Otto*.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, *ibid.* Vasari notes an Annunciation executed at Fiesole, which he praises highly (ii., p. 617), another executed for Jacopo Bellucci at S. Jacopo of Pistoia (ii., p. 625), and mentioned by Tolomei as in Casa Bracciolini at Pistoia (*Guida*, p. 17), and since sold. Another in the convent of the Murate (VASARI, ii., p. 617), for which see text *postea*.

*² In these panels are represented the four fathers of the church.

*³ FLORENCE, Riccardi Palace, Madonna and Child, from the Asylum of San Salvi, where it was recognised by POGGI, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, pp. 43, 44.

ROME, Hertz Collection. An Annunciation from Bagno a Ripoli, where it was in the Oratorio de Larioni. It is therefore probable that the two donors are members of that family. "Le due piccole figure muliebri sono piene di movimento e di vita. Tuttavia si potrebbe credere che Fra Filippo si servisse per l'esecuzione dell'opera del suo amico ed aiuto fra Diamante." See CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *Ital. edition*, v., p. 229.

*⁴ This picture is now given to Filippo in the official catalogue, but it is given by several critics to Jacopo del Sellaio. ⁵ RICHIA, *Chiese*, u.s., ii., p. 109.

* But in the catalogue of 1904 it is said that this picture comes from S. Primerana at Fiesole.

*⁶ This picture, as well as No. 1,007 mentioned above, was bought from the Abate Rovanni in Florence in 1808. ⁷ VASARI, ii., p. 625.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 95. A Virgin of Mercy, with numerous figures under her cloak, whose sides are held up by two angels. A genuine work of the master.¹

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 1,131. A mutilated piece of a picture representing St. Francis handing a book to a kneeling nun, with four kneeling companions (nuns) on one side, and five more on the other. A picture of feeble execution.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 94. Meeting of the Youthful Christ and St. John, feeble landscape picture, perhaps produced in the school.²

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 589. The Virgin Mary is seated, and an angel presents the infant Christ to her. This fine picture, whose composition is akin to that of the Uffizi (No. 1,307) and to that in the Galleria degli Innocenti at Florence, is drawn and coloured differently from those of Fra Filippo. Its style shows it to be by one who issued from the school of the Carmelite, and who wavers between the manner of Filippino and that of Botticelli.

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 586. This altarpiece, lately in the Ugo Baldi Collection, was there erroneously asserted to be by Fra Filippo and once in S. Spirito of Florence (a fact asserted also by the annotators of Vasari³). It may have been originally in S. Spirito, but it is not by Fra Filippo and is therefore not the Barbadori altarpiece.⁴ It bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo with a mixture of characteristic features peculiar to the manner of Benozzo Gozzoli. We shall revert to this work when treating of certain subordinate painters who acted as assistants to divers masters.

LONDON, *Mr. Barker's Collection*.⁵ Circular picture, representing the Adoration of the Kings. The Virgin, to the right, is seated in

*¹ Another example of Fra Filippo's art, a portion of a predella, has lately been added to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 95 B). It represents a miraculous incident at the birth of a saint. Dr. Schottmüller is probably right when she asserts (*Jahrbuch d. K. K. Preuss. Kunsts*, 1907, p. 34) that this panel represents the miracle of the bees at the birth of S. Ambrogio, and that it is the left-hand portion of the predella of the Coronation made for St. Ambrogio.

*² No. 72 of this Gallery, a Coronation of the Virgin with the usual choirs of angels and saints, is not by Fra Filippo. It displays the style and manner, the colour and tempera of a follower of Botticelli and Filippino. It is of the class usually called Cosimo Rosselli in galleries.

*³ VASARI, ii., p. 618, note 1.

*⁴ On the Barbadori altarpiece see *antea*, p. 150.

*⁵ This fine work, one of the most important early pictures of the master, is in Sir F. Cook's collection at Richmond. It reveals very strongly the influence of Fra Angelico.

front of a pent-house on the top of which a peacock suns itself. One of the kings kisses the Infant's foot and the procession extends into the distance, where various incidents are depicted.¹ The composition is exceedingly rich and varied, and reveals in the artist a great proficiency in rendering nude. The manner is quite that of Fra Filippo, whilst the searching manner in which flesh parts are studied reminds one of the efforts of Pesellino when he made an approach to Fra Filippo's manner, supposing always to be true the statement that Pesellino's work might at times be taken for the friar's. Further, we find here a luxurious use of episodes which might inspire such a painter as Benozzo Gozzoli.²

LONDON, *Lord Ward's Collection, Dudley House.* Here is a Virgin Adoring the Child, probably by a pupil of Masolino. Indeed, the work is assigned at Dudley House to the latter.³

OXFORD, *Gallery.* A Pilgrimage of the Virgin to the Temple of Veii is much in Fra Filippo's manner, but bears marks also of his school.

The following works in the hands of English collectors may be noticed because they are catalogued under Fra Filippo's name. They are, however, only Florentine of the period, akin more or less to the productions of the Carmelite, of Benozzo Gozzoli, and Botticelli.

LONDON, *Mr. Maitland.* Originally in the Ottley collection, and No. 43 at *Manchester Exhibition.* SS. Peter and John Healing the Lame.⁴

¹ This picture seems the same which Dr. Waagen (*Treasures*, iii., p. 3) notices in the collection of Mr. Maitland, and omits in the collection of Mr. Barker.

² In Lord Methuen's collection at Corsham is an Annunciation by Fra Filippo which is believed to be that painted by the friar for the church of S. Jacopo at Pistoia on the commission of that Jacopo Bellucci who entrusted to Fra Filippo the completion of Pesellino's Trinità. (See *The Connoisseur*, London, March, 1904.)

³ I have not been able to trace this picture.

⁴ This predella picture is now in the Berlin Gallery, having been previously in the possession of Mr. Langton Douglas, who attributed it to Francesco di Giorgio. It reveals very strongly, of course, the influence of Girolamo da Cremona, as do other works of Francesco di Giorgio painted at this time. The editor was the first to point out several years ago the intimate connection that existed between Francesco di Giorgio and Girolamo da Cremona, revealed in a Holy Family in Sir F. Cook's collection at Richmond. (See the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Sienese Art* held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904, pp. 24 and 62.) In fact it is probable that Girolamo worked in Francesco's studio at Siena.

Writing more recently, Mr. Berenson treats of this connection between Francesco di Giorgio and Girolamo da Cremona as though it were a new discovery; and he goes so far as to give to Girolamo himself another portion of the same predella to which the Berlin panel belongs. (See BERENSON in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, No. 3, pp. 33-5.) This predella, however, is not by Girolamo or any other

Sir John Boileau. No. 44. Manchester. Story of Jupiter and Calisto.

LIVERPOOL, Institution. Manchester. No. 45-46. Predellas with scenes from the legend of St. Sebastian.

Mr. J. W. Brett. No. 47. Manchester. Virgin, Child, and angels.

Rosini engraves as a work of Fra Filippo a picture in the gallery of Pisa representing the Virgin and Child between two angels and four saints (life-size) with the bust of a female in foreground. This is a creation due to a painter of the close of the fifteenth and rise of the sixteenth century, of whom a few words may be said at a later time. Vasari says that pictures by Fra Filippo were preserved at Padua,¹ and the Anonimo confirms this, describing a fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin, on the first pilaster to the left of the portal in S. Antonio of Padua, and frescoes in the cappella del Podestà.² Were these statements of the Anonimo confirmed, it would appear that the Fra laboured in Padua. But the absence of the frescoes in question, and indeed of every trace of the friar's presence, leaves the matter uncertain.³

A number of productions in existence at Vasari's time, or noticed by earlier and later writers, are lost to us. Of these a short list may be made as follows: Florence, Carmine;⁴ a St. John Baptist and a St. Martial.⁵ Convent of the Murate, altarpiece representing scenes from the lives of SS. Benedict and Bernard.⁶ S. Apostolo, Virgin and Saints.⁶ Casa Lodovico Capponi, Virgin and Child.⁷ Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo—

miniaturist. In fact it is far too coarse and broad in treatment for Girolamo, and it reveals the hand of an eager student of architecture, such as Francesco was. But both of the known panels that belong to it are full of the influence of Girolamo, and were probably painted in a bottega where Neroccio as well as Francesco and Girolamo worked together.

There is another reason for assigning this picture to Francesco rather than to Girolamo, containing as it does mannerisms of both artists. Francesco in his somewhat brief career as a painter reveals himself as an eclectic and as extraordinarily sensitive to influence. The truth being that, as painting was not his true *métier*, his original power displaying itself in his sculpture, and yet more in his architecture. Girolamo, on the other hand, had a pronouncedly personal style.

¹ ii., p. 619.

² ANONIMO MORELLIANO, *u.s.*, pp. 5 and 28.

*³ From 1431 to 1437 we find no mention of Fra Filippo at Florence. It is to that period that his sojourn at Padua belongs. In fact on July 1, 1434, a payment was made to "Fra Filippo of Florence" for ultramarine. (See GONZATI, *La Basilica di Sant' Antonio di Padova*, 1852, i., p. xli., and doc. xxxv., note 1.)

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 613.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 617.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 618.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 625.

St. Jerome in prayer.¹ Fiesole, S. M. Primerana, Annunciation.² S. M. Nuova, two altarpieces.³ S. Trinità, an altarpiece.⁴ S. M. de' Candelì, Annunciation.⁵ S. Croce, Cappella de' Pazzi.⁶ Perugia, S. Domenico Vecchio, Virgin between SS. Peter, Paul, Louis and Anthony Abbot.⁷ In S. Domenico now, are four figures of SS. Peter, Paul, Peter Martyr and Catherine in two panels; further, a panel representing the Virgin and Child and four injured angels playing. These works, in the feeling of Fra Filippo, are by Benedetto Buonfigli.⁸ A picture assigned by Orsini to Fra Filippo,⁹ is by Fra Giovanni.¹⁰ Rome, two small pictures.¹¹

Fra Diamante, one of Fra Filippo's assistants and contemporaries, survived the friar and took charge of Filippino Lippi. He had been a novice in the Carmine of Florence, and spent his life apparently in the same connection with Lippi as Mariotto Albertinelli with Fra Bartolommeo.¹² We have seen that he finished the frescoes of Spoleto. It is on record also that he worked at Prato, and Vasari declares that he took part in the adornment of the cathedral choir and left numerous works behind in the Carmine.¹³ It is of interest to note that early in 1463 (old style), Fra Diamante was ordered to Florence and confined there by order of his superior. Such an incident in the life of Fra Filippo might not have caused surprise to the reader. Is it possible that the anecdotes which relate to Fra Diamante should be told of his brother friar? If Fra Diamante were then an assistant to Fra Filippo, his forced absence in 1463 may have been the true cause of the delay incurred by the latter in finishing the frescoes of the

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 626.

² *Ibid.*, p. 617. * See *antea*, p. 174, note 5.

³ ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ RICHA, *Chiese*, ii., p. 294.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i., p. 109.

*⁷ VASARI, ii., p. 626. Fra Filippo was commissioned to paint this picture on February 16, 1451, by the Perugian Antonio Del Branca. But there was a dispute between the artist and his patron, because the picture, the latter alleged, had not been painted by the friar. (See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 626, note 3.)

⁸ See *postea*, vol. v.

⁹ See *Guida di Perugia*.

¹⁰ See *antea*, p. 76.

¹¹ VASARI, ii., p. 619.

*¹² Fra Diamante, who was born in the year 1430 at Terranuova in Val d' Arno, was placed by his father Feo in the convent of the Carmelites of Prato, not of Florence, and it was there that he met Fra Filippo and became his assistant.

¹³ VASARI, ii., p. 627.

choir.¹ In January, 1463 (old style) the "comune" of Prato petitioned the Patriarch of Florence to set Fra Diamante at liberty, but we cannot tell whether this petition was granted.² The friar afterwards joined Fra Filippo at Spoleto, as we have seen, and returned after finishing his work there to Prato, where (1470, May 24th) he completed a portrait with the arms of the Podestà, Cesare Petrucci, in the portico of the Palazzo de' Signori.³ It is not possible to distinguish this painter's hand in the frescoes of the choir of Prato or in those of Spoleto, nor is the fresco of the Palazzo preserved. We may assume, however, that the assistant had worked himself into a style not unlike that of his master; and one picture, which hung of old in the Cappella Dragoni of the Carmine at Prato, and is now⁴ in possession of Signor Grissato Berti, may have been produced by him. This piece represents a full-length St. Jerome beating his breast with a stone, whilst, at his sides, half concealed by the rocks of the middle distance, stand St. John the Baptist and another saint.⁵ This is a piece of spare, flat, and light, though dull, colour, reproducing Filippo's manner in an inferior degree, and exhibiting the development of defects of which the germ only can be found in Lippi. The forms and draperies are feeble and rudely drawn, the

*¹ We have seen that there were other causes for the delay in finishing the frescoes.

*² Fra Diamante was liberated at once; but he abandoned the Carmelite habit for that of the Vallombrosian order. Thus, in 1466, he succeeded Fra Filippo as chaplain of S. Margherita.

*³ See the facts and records in *Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Tosc.*, u.s., ii., p. 248.

*⁴ Two years later we find him living in Florence in the cloister of S. Pancrazio and a member of the Academy of S. Luca. In 1483 he was Prior of S. Pietro di Gello, in the diocese of Volterra. Before 1482 he had worked in the Sistine Chapel, because a document of that year records a grant to him by Sixtus IV. of a pension of a hundred ducats, to be charged upon the property of the Abbey of S. Fedele at Poppi. In consequence of this, a dispute arose between him and the friars which lasted until 1490, after which an agreement was arrived at by which the pension was reduced to thirty-six ducats. (See STEINMANN, *Die Sixtin-Kapelle*, 1901, i., pp. 203-4.) The last record of him is in 1493, in a letter from the Ferrarese ambassador at Florence, Manfredo de' Manfredi, who recommends, to Duke Ercole I., Fra Diamante who has been put in prison by the abbot of San Salvi. (A. VENTURI in *Arte e Storia*, Florence, 1884, March, p. 101.)

*⁵ This picture is lost.

*⁶ The first to the left prays; the second, to the right, holds a palm and a heart.

*⁷ The other saint is St. Thekla.

best figure being St. Jerome. If the picture be a genuine production of Fra Diamante it shows that he possessed little but subordinate capacity.¹ We note, however, at this time the frequency with which artists entitled to lead as chiefs of schools, employed assistants who attached themselves to any painter who consented to employ them, and who adopted for the time the manner of the painter in whose employ they remained. Under the influence of their superiors these wanderers sometimes produced pieces superior to their usual creations. Such an artist is Zenobio Macchiavelli, long assistant to Benozzo Gozzoli, whose works prove him to have studied in the shop of Fra Filippo, and whose career may be noticed later. Of Jacopo del Sellaio, who was, according to Vasari, one of the Fra's assistants, no works are known.² Some incidents of his life may be gathered from the commentators of the last edition of Vasari.³ As for Botticelli and Pesellino, they are men whose career deserves special attention.

*¹ Of Fra Diamante we have no certain work. But his paintings in the Sistine Chapel—he was amongst the first workers there, contemporaneously with Pier Matteo d'Amelia and Perugino, that is to say in 1481, and was also amongst the first to leave—can be distinguished from the other early works there both by a method of exclusion and by the strong evidences in them of Fra Filippo's influence. Among the portraits of the Popes there is a group of seven in the same manner—all showing strong traces of Fra Filippo's influence—that can be given to Fra Diamante. There are on the wall on the left the Popes Eleutherius, Anicetus, Urbanus, Zepherinus, Antherus; and on the wall on the right Alexander and Telesphorus. To these can, perhaps, be added S. Fabianus. They are all calm, pensive figures, very similar in type. It is certain that if Sixtus V. granted the painter a pension of a hundred ducats, he must have executed more and more important work than this. It is probable the lunettes were decorated in great part by him, but there is no record of the paintings that were in these lunettes before they were filled with Michael Angelo's prophets. (See STEINMANN, *op. cit.*, i., pp. 201-8.)

*² See appendix to this chapter.

³ ii., pp. 642-3.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII

JACOPO DEL SELLAIO

JACOPO DEL SELLAIO was born in 1442, as is proved by the "Portate al Catasto" of his father Arcangelo of the years 1446 and 1449. From 1460 he was inscribed among the members of the Compagnia di S. Luca. From a third "Denunzia" of the father we learn that in the year 1480 Filippo di Giuliano had a *bottega* in company with Jacopo in the Piazza S. Miniato fra le Torri. He died on November 12, 1493, and was buried at San Frediano, leaving a son, Arcangelo, also a painter, who lived to the age of fifty-three years, dying in 1531. And it is more than probable that some of the enormous number of pictures that have been given to Jacopo are by his son, or by artists such as Filippo di Giuliano who worked in Jacopo's *bottega*.

Until quite recently it was impossible to distinguish with any certitude the works of Jacopo del Sellaio from the other productions of the followers of Fra Filippo, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio; although it seemed probable that his achievement must have been considerable, seeing that he had a *bottega* in which he employed several assistants. No known picture bore his signature, and the notice of the master in Vasari (ii., p. 627) seemed too slight to afford any certain clue as to the identity of the works ascribed to him by the author of the *Lives*, even after additional documentary evidence relating to Jacopo had been published by Milanese. It is in the main due to the researches of Dr. Mackowsky that it has been possible to identify a large number of works of the master.¹ Dr. Mackowsky succeeded in identifying two of the pictures of Jacopo referred to by Vasari, the Crucifixion and the Pietà of San Frediano, the former of which is still in the Sacristy at San Frediano, the latter being now at the Berlin Museum (No. 1,055). These two works can also be dated. The latter, according to a document published by Milanese, was commissioned by the Compagnia di S. Frediano in 1483. The former was painted about 1490, the year in

¹ MACKOWSKY, *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsta.*, 1899, pp. 192 *et seq.* and 271 *et seq.* H. HORNE, *Burlington Magazine*, 1908, p. 210 *et seq.*

which was executed the testament of Lorenzo di Bartolommeo del Passera, who founded the chapel for which this altarpiece was commissioned.

But there is a third work that can be shown by documentary evidence to be by Jacopo del Sellaio; and that is the Annunciation that is at the sides of a S. Lucia of Pietro Lorenzetti in the church of Santa Lucia de' Magnoli at Florence. Signor O. H. Giglioli has recently published a document which states that, in 1473, Jacopo restored the figure of Santa Lucia, and that his assistant Filippo di Giuliano was paid for executing a crucifix for the same church.¹ Seeing that, for stylistic reasons, this picture has for some time been regarded as a work of Jacopo, the evidence of this document may be said to establish the attribution.

These three pictures, belonging to different periods of the master's career, reveal to us an imitative and eclectic artist. The Annunciation of S. Lucia de' Magnoli reveals the influence of Fra Filippo, the Pietà of Berlin that of Ghirlandaio; whilst the Crucifixion of San Frediano, in the colour and movement of the figures, reveals that Jacopo had been profoundly affected by the art of Botticelli.

But imitative as was the achievement of Jacopo, it is possible to trace through its various phases a charming, if not very forcible, artistic personality; and with the ample evidence afforded by his three documented pictures it is possible to assign to him a large group of works.

Seeing that no less than fifty works have been given to Jacopo by Mackowsky, and that the number is constantly being added to by other critics, it is impossible for us here to discuss, or even to enumerate, all these attributions, some of which have been too rashly made. We can only indicate a few of the characteristic and authentic works of the master:—

(1) A Pietà, with St. James, St. Francis, St. Michael, and St. Mary Magdalen, in the Uffizi (No. 1,513), and formerly in the church of S. Jacopo sopr' Arno; (2) a Coronation of the Virgin, with several saints, in the magazine of the Uffizi; (3) three scenes from the story of Esther, also in the Uffizi (Nos. 66–8), which together with (4) a Coronation of Esther in the Louvre, formed, no doubt, a decorative series, imitated from that of the same subject school of Botticelli, of which panels are to be found in the Liechtenstein and Goldschmidt collections and in the museum at Chantilly; (5) two small pictures, a Meeting of Anna and Elizabeth, and a Deposition, in the Academy at

*¹ See *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 184 *et seq.*



CRUCIFIXION

BY JACOPO DEL SELLAI

From a picture in the Church of S. Frediano, in Castello, Florence

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Florence; (6) a Madonna Adoring the Holy Child (No. 364), at the Pitti; (7) four representations of the Triumphs of Petrarch, in the Oratorio of Sant' Ansano near Fiesole¹; (8) a St. Jerome, in Mr. Herbert Horne's collection, perhaps a part of the predella of the Berlin Pietà; (9) the Meeting of Jesus with the young St. John, in the Berlin Museum (No. 94); and (10) two parts of a cassone, the Assassination of Julius Cæsar, in the same museum (Nos. 1,132-3), which are similar in character to (11), the picture of Brutus and Portia, in Lord Crawford's collection; (12) a David with the head of Goliath at his feet, in Mr. J. G. Johnson's collection at Philadelphia; (13) A Madonna Adoring the Holy Child, in the Jarves' collection at Yale (No. 41), first given to Sellaio by Mr. Berenson²; (14) a Nativity in a landscape, in the Holden collection at Cleveland, given by Mary Logan to Botticini.³

As with other Florentine masters of the second rank belonging to this same period, it is in these decorative mythological panels, rather than in the large religious pictures, that the somewhat faint and elusive personality of the artist finds its highest expression.

*¹ See *postea*, p. 262.

*² See also W. RANKIN, *Notes on the Collections of Old Masters at Yale University*, etc., pp. 9 and 18.

*³ Mr. William Rankin has drawn my attention to this beautiful Sellaio. It is reproduced to illustrate MARY LOGAN's article on the Holden collection in the *Rassegna d'Arte* of 1907, No. 1, p. 2.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PESELLI

WE have traced the progress of innovation in the Florentine art of the fifteenth century through some of its most important phases. The peculiarities of Uccello, Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano have been noted as far as the natural difficulties of the subject would allow. We have watched the development of Fra Filippo's career, and illustrated the variety of his style as affected by the tendencies of his age; and we have sufficiently described the technical processes of his art to show that, whilst he perfected the old system of panel painting, he kept aloof from those who strove to supersede the old system by a new one. The pooriness of the materials for a life of Domenico Veneziano forbids the historian to venture on the task of explaining the substance of the efforts made in the fifteenth century to alter the old systems of panel painting. But this task is only adjourned, and claims performance when the natural lapse of time brings us to the consideration of the works of the Peselli, Baldovinetti, and the Pollaiuoli.

We shall presently attempt to clear the lives of the first of these painters from some obscurities, dwelling on the peculiar obstacles which impede the critic in assigning a series of remarkable productions to the one or to the other of them. But before proceeding to the performance of this duty, the complex of the works of both may be embraced in a general view for the purpose of laying down certain broad and general facts which follow from a critical analysis of them.

In the first place, we discern that the technical mode of proceeding which these artists employed partook at once of the nature of the old one familiar to the painters of the fourteenth and earlier centuries, and a new one, remarkable for the introduc-

tion of oils or varnishes as vehicles for colour. It was a method which naturally enough sacrificed some of the advantages of the old system without possessing those which were but gradually won from the application of the new; so that the panel pictures of Fra Filippo and others, executed, as we shall see, by Pesellino in the system of the Fra, are more pleasing to the eye than those of Peselli, Baldovinetti, or even, as improved, of the Pollaiuoli.

It will further appear from a careful study of examples that the use of the new vehicles was at first visible more particularly in draperies, accessories and landscape, the difficulties attending the extension of them to flesh parts being at first almost insurmountable; because the imperfect nature of the method and of the substances used did not afford the same amount of time or of ease for stippling and fusing the parts as were to be found in tempera, and because the system of glazing with transparent or semi-transparent colour which came into use subsequently was not as yet thought of. The first innovators were therefore obliged, on account of the imperfect means at their command, to prepare and to apply for flesh parts a tone of the exact tinge which they required, and which was to remain afterwards comparatively unaltered. This tone, impregnated with a medium, hard to manipulate because of its viscous texture, was laid on at one throw, and when dry was covered in the necessary parts with darker ones of a liquid and transparent nature, after the manner practised in tempera; hence a raised surface, betraying the fatigue of manipulation. The same cause which created a high surface in flesh parts naturally worked with still greater force in draperies, in landscapes, and other accessorial parts, where the superposed tones, instead of being liquid, were laid on, especially in shadows, with impasto. We shall thus find in the works that shall be noticed flesh tints of a hard, horny, yet translucent substance evidently so tough that they could not be brought perfectly to cover the parts within the outlines, and therefore allowing the preparatory coloured sketch to be seen; and the general result will appear to be the production in flesh parts of an equal yellowish colour of a low key, frequently lacking light and transparence, and unrelieved by sufficient rounding because of the difficulty incurred in the attempt to model the parts.

The imperfection visible in the flesh was equally apparent in the hair, to produce which the painter, anxious for the preservation of a necessary lightness in order that he might give the head rotundity and relief, used either the white, or lightly tinted ground of the panel, as a local tone over which he minutely drew a succession of lines strengthened in the darker parts by deeper and more marked ones engraved in the surface. Landscapes betrayed the imperfection of the system in a slighter degree, as they required less light. The sky was frequently painted in tempera, but when executed in the newer system exhibited the same defects as the flesh. Draperies, always of lower tones than the flesh, were coloured in strong primaries, as much for the purpose of giving light by contrast to the nude parts as for any other reason; and they show the imperfection of the system less than others. They were painted at once of half body with high surface shadows, and often with high surface lights.

The peculiar technical process of the Peselli being thus generally defined, we may now pass to the discussion of the facts connected with their lives, and to a more precise description of the works which they produced.

Amongst the painters whom the generous Cosimo de' Medici protected, Giuliano d'Arrigo di Giuocolo Giuochi, commonly known as Pesello,¹ is well worthy of arresting the attention of history.

Born at Florence,² in 1367, before Masolino or Fra Giovanni, before Brunelleschi, and earlier than any of the naturalists, he was the contemporary of Agnolo Gaddi, with whom he was adjoined in 1390³ by the superintendents of S. M. del Fiore, for the purpose of designing a funeral monument to Pietro da Farnese.⁴ He was a child of the fourteenth century. He might have witnessed the death of Taddeo Gaddi, have heard the praises of Giovanni da Milano or of Orcagna. He lived and laboured in the

¹ Giuliano's return to the income tax for 1427 published in *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani* (1860, p. 207), contains as an item on the Dr. side, 14 flor. due to Cosimo de' Medici, being part of a sum advanced by that nobleman for the marriage of one of Giuliano's daughters.

² *Vide* his own statement in income tax return of 1427, *u.s.*

³ Not in 1390, but in 1395.

⁴ BALDINUCCI, *Opere, u.s.*, v., p. 198. [* They were also ordered to design a monument for Sir John Hawkwood.]

Giottesque period. On these grounds alone one might class him amongst the Giottesques. But the records in which his name has been preserved point to works of architecture and sculpture as well as to works of painting. He took the freedom of the Grocers' Company in 1385.¹ A marble figure of St. Jerome, carved in 1398 by Piero di Giovanni for the front of S. M. del Fiore, was valued by him, by the goldsmith Simone, and by the painter Neri d'Antonio.² The frieze of the tabernacle of the "arte di Calimala" in a pilaster of Orsanmichele was modelled by him in 1414-16.³ He competed for the erection of the cupola of S. M. del Fiore in 1419, and presented a model of his scheme, which was not accepted,⁴ but in 1420 the superintendents of the edifice recognised his talent as an architect by appointing him Brunelleschi's substitute in the office of "provveditore," in the event of that great artist's death, resignation, or removal. He was thus retained for eventual service during several years; and made a model of the Catena of the cupola in 1424.⁵ On the other hand he executed some commissions as a painter—furnishing the flags for the interior of S. Giovanni in 1414-16,⁶ and a standard for the Arte di Calimala in 1424,⁷ and finishing, in 1430, an Annunciation⁸ which Giovanni Toscani had commenced on commission from Simone Buondelmonti.⁹ His name, however, only appears on the register of the Florentine painter's guild in 1424. His return to the income tax for the year 1427 has been recently discovered; and this record is of importance as it rectifies much that Vasari relates respecting one whom he calls Francesco Peselli.¹⁰ Giuliano lived in the Via di Borgo San Frediano, but his shop was in the

¹ June 27. See the record in *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 13.

² *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ CESARE GUASTI'S *Cupola di S. M. del Fiore Illustrata*. 8vo. Flor. 1857, pp. 25, 26-33. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 72. See also MORENI, *Vita di Brunellesco*.

⁶ *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ [* The Annunciation was finished after 1430, according to the document referred to. Milanesi, relying, perhaps, upon documents that he does not quote, gives 1439 as the date of the Annunciation. VASARI, iii., p. 42.]

⁹ *Ibid.* [* Before executing these works he sculptured and painted the arms of the convent of Florence, in 1395, for Santa Reparata, and in the year 1398 he painted some Agnus Dei for the same church. (See H. SEMPER, *Die Vorläufer Donatello's in Zahn's Jahrbüchern*, 1870, iii., pp. 67 and 69.)]

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Corso degli Adimari. His wife, Mona Bartolommea, had given him but two daughters, one of them having lost her husband, the painter Stefano, previous to 1427, the other, Caterina, aged eleven at the time of the return. Giuliano's son-in-law left his widow in bad circumstances, and their son Francesco di Stefano, a child five years old in 1428,¹ remained in the family of his grandfather. When he grew up he became known as Pesellino, a painter of some fame. Vasari confounds the names, the relationship, the works of the two painters; and the confusion which he thus created is all but inextricable at the present day. The shop from which the pictures assigned to the Peselli were sent out into the world was that of Giuliano. The works known to have been executed by Giuliano are, however, not preserved, and history contains no source from which the student can derive any certainty as to the authorship of paintings executed either separately or jointly by him and his grandson. All that is certainly known amounts to this: that Francesco di Stefano remained in the family shop till the death of Giuliano in 1446² (new style), and that he carried on business in the same atelier till the 29th of June, 1457,³ when he died at the early age of thirty-five.⁴ The kindly Giuliano who thus brought up his grandson to his own profession can hardly have derived much benefit from Francesco's services till he reached the age of eighteen or twenty, so that Pesellino's active duties in the shop may date from the year 1442 or thereabouts. Giuliano then celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. It is therefore but fair to suppose that such works as were completed at that time were by the younger of the two artists under the direction of the older. This belief, suggested by the great age of Giuliano, might perhaps be confirmed, if it were possible to find the dates of the paintings assigned to the Peselli. These dates are not to be obtained; but it is remarkable of such works, as may now be noticed, that they

¹ Thus Francesco di Stefano, commonly called Pesellino, was born in 1422, the year of Baldovinetti's birth. * Baldovinetti was born in 1425. See *postea*, p. 205, note 1.

² He was buried in the Carmine of Florence.

* ³ Not in June, but in July.

⁴ He was buried in S. Felice, in Piazza, leaving behind his widow Mona Tarsia and children of tender age. For this and the previous note see register of deaths in *Giornale Stor.*, u.s., p. 15.

bear the clear trace of innovations in art extensively carried out only about the middle of the fifteenth century under the auspices of Paolo Uccello and Andrea del Castagno. They may be in a measure the creations of Giuliano. But in this case we note the uncommon phenomenon of an artist bred up when Giottesque maxims were in vogue, turning with apparent ease to the naturalism of later painters of an innovating class. Such a phenomenon may have appeared, but it would have been highly interesting to watch its development, and, in the absence of means to that end, we obviously remain deprived of a key for explaining Giuliano's career. We are in the dark as to his original teacher, and Vasari is wrong when he gives that title to Andrea del Castagno.¹ But what is clearly untrue of Giuliano may be partially true of Francesco. As regards him in particular, Vasari is right when he says he imitated Fra Filippo.² He is in the truth, if we accept as works of Francesco the predella of Lippi's altarpiece, now divided between the Florence Academy of Arts and the gallery of the Louvre. Vasari is confirmed in his judgment as to the authorship of this piece by the older authority of Albertini,³ whose memorial, addressed to the sculptor Baccio di Montelupo, neglects Giuliano altogether. In this, however, he is followed by Giovanni Santi, who mentions in the same line,

"Frate Filippo e Francesco Peselli."⁴

Whatever may have been Giuliano's deserts in the advancement of painting, it is clear, from the expressions of contemporary artist-writers, that they were overshadowed by those of his grandson. The pictures which Vasari assigns to either prove that he had justly criticised their style and execution; and his observation as to the truth and life apparent in the reproduction of animals may be echoed at the present day, as they were of old by Filarete,⁵ who assigns to Giuliano a special mastery in repre-

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 36. Born 1390, twenty-three years after Giuliano. [* Andrea was born about 1410, and therefore about forty-three years after Giuliano. See *antec.*, p. 126, note 3.]

² *Ibid.*, p. 36. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 38, and ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 14.

⁴ *Vide* PUNGILEONI'S *Elogio Stor. Gio. Santi*, u.s., p. 73.

⁵ MS. *Trattato dell' Architettura*, u.s.; but see also VASARI, iii., pp. 37 and 36. Filarete gives this praise to Francesco, not to Giuliano. See OETTINGEN'S edition of the *Trattato* of Filarete, Vienna, 1890, p. 307.

senting quadrupeds. The first picture to which Vasari alludes is an Adoration of the Magi commissioned for the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence and long considered lost.¹ Lanzi's assertion² that it was preserved in the Uffizi is correct, and the student may still see it in the first passage,³ a long piece containing about thirty small figures of the Magi and their suite, knights on horseback in rich costumes of the time, servants, hawkers and dogs, in a landscape simulating a rich country. The right-hand group of the Virgin and Child, with the adoring king on his knees before her, and St. Joseph in front of the pent-house, displays some vulgarity, and is not improved by the dullness consequent on restoration.⁴ The kings and their immediate retainers carrying presents, gesticulating or conversing, are followed on the extreme left by the knights and pages of the suite with all the cumbrous accompaniments of princes in the fifteenth century. We see in fact in this work of the Peselli the gradual alteration of a time-honoured composition from its typical, and, so to speak, sacred form into a modern scene, in which the scriptural nature of the subject merges into a sort of genre-picture where the country, the people, the manners and customs of the Florence of the period are represented. The landscape is remarkable also for its excessive study of details and for the minute drawing of trees whose leaves are defined and painted in with the relief colour peculiar to the first Florentine efforts for the introduction of oil vehicles in tempera pictures.

The general tone is darkened and altered by time and necessary restoring, and single heads in their primitive state are scarcely to be found; but the remains prove a most careful execution. The chief merit of the picture, however, is the portrait character of the figures, which are faithful imitations of nature, and exhibit the germ of the defects peculiar to the realists who, like Andrea del Castagno, substituted studied but unselect forms for the more dignified but less studied ones of older times. Hardly one of the figures in this Adoration of the Magi but displays

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 36.

² *Hist.*, u.s., i., p. 80.

³ No. 58. This picture is not now regarded as a work of the Peselli, but as of a later date.

⁴ This part is the most restored of all.

imperfect proportions, a heavy head, short waist, and long coarse legs. But this could scarcely be otherwise, unless a painter idealised; for to the usual imperfection of the human frame, the disadvantage of a peculiar dress was superadded. The animal world was better or more happily rendered by the Peselli, whose study of the horse or dog was clearly fortunate in its results.

We thus possess a picture corresponding to the idea of the Peselli which a reader might derive from the narrative of Vasari.¹ If it be by Giuliano d' Arrigo, we must assign it to the close of his career. He may then justly claim the honour of having been one the best animal painters of his day, and of having given an impulse which was imparted to other Florentines. The education of Benozzo Gozzoli, who mingled the simplicity of Angelico with the pomp of the naturalists, may thus be explained.

A series of frescoes, representing scenes from the lives of SS. Benedict and Joseph, in the loggia of the Palazzo Rucellai at Florence,² has a natural connection with the foregoing picture. They are slight bold works of hasty execution and animated movement thrown on a ground of light verde, which forms the semitones, shadowed with deeper verde, touched with white in the lights and darkly outlined. They produce an impression similar to that which might be created by a work on coloured paper. The subjects are composed with some ease and spirit, and the figures are grouped familiarly as if in converse, without a rigid regard for grandeur of distribution. Individually, the persons represented are realistically drawn with carefully studied, but coarse muscular limbs and extremities, short waists and long legs. The curly locks and caps of the time, involved zigzag draperies

¹ A picture in the late Bromley collection, assigned there to Cosimo Rosselli and exhibited at Manchester (No. 63), may be taken as an inferior work in the style of the foregoing and considered as of the school. [* This picture is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.] It represents the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist and Andrew (life-size) and is inscribed: *mccccxxxxiiii die xxviii novembris. ss. bartholomevs zenobivs.* [* The date 1443 was certainly added afterwards, the painting being clearly of a later date.] The figures have the slender length of those of the Uffizi with still more vulgar types of face. The colour is sombre and the execution common. The date alone shows the name of Cosimo Rosselli to be false. He was only born in 1439.

² Via di Vigna Nuova. [* These frescoes cannot now be seen.]

inferior to similar ones in Castagno and Uccello, may be noticed, together with some types of head reminiscent, as regards character, of those in Fra Filippo's pictures. The painted architecture in some of the scenes is not without perspective; and some panelled ceilings chequered in black and yellow remind one of the manner of Uccello, and reveal the progress of the science in the fifteenth century. Whether by Giuliano or not, this is at least interesting as a wall-painting of his school.

The altarpiece of the Annunciation mentioned by Vasari¹ is still in the sisterhood of S. Giorgio (now Chiesa dello Spirito Santo) at Florence.² The meeting takes place under a double arch, screened off, by a wall of coloured marble, from a garden whose orange trees and cypresses overtop the entablature. A bed of roses ornaments the base of the screen, in front of which the Virgin appears before the spectator and turns from a stand-desk before her to greet the angel Gabriel, who with his arms crossed on his bosom strides in with a long step.³ The composition and the figures seem the conscientious work of a youthful artist; and the angel's darting movement, fine profile, and crisp curling locks remind one of Raphael's in the predella at the Vatican. The juvenile Virgin is less pleasing, and a certain triviality prevails in expression as in features.⁴ The drawing of the figure, the meandering curls and transparent veil are peculiarities to be found in the works of Alesso Baldovinetti.⁵ A characteristic feature in the picture is, however, its technical execution. The high surface colour, of a translucid substance, has a tough texture and is bounded by outlines which define every part, however minute, down to the leaves and fruit of the trees. Pure colours give a decisive key of tone. The hair is minutely lined on a very light undertone. The flesh, requiring a greater fusion of different

¹ Vol. iii., p. 38.

* ² It is now in the Uffizi Gallery, No. 56.

³ The Virgin holds up her blue mantle with her left hand; a transparent veil is on her head. The angel wears a red tunic and yellow buskins. The figures are about a third less than life-size.

⁴ The hands too are cramped and uneasy.

* ⁵ This picture is given by the authors to Baldovinetti. (See the Italian edition of this work, vol. vi., p. 15, note 2.) The attribution to Baldovinetti is now generally accepted.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. COSMO AND ST. DAMIAN
BY P. DESPERLINO
From a picture in the Galleria Antica e Moderna, Florence

tints, is least successfully carried out, and appears of a yellowish coffee tone. The treatment and vehicles differ from those in previous use and seem to preclude the practice of stippling; and it is only on very close inspection that one sees the lines of a minute brush in the flesh tints. A viscous medium is obviously used. The picture discloses, in fact, something of the effort which Vasari ascribes to the Peselli and Baldovinetti in view of altering the old practice of panel-painting.¹ It proves that Italian artists were already seeking to discover the course pursued with unwavering certainty and success by the Van Eycks.²

A more developed art, but a style and system similar to those of the S. Giorgio altarpiece, are displayed in a beautiful predella, representing three scenes from the legend of St. Nicolas, in the Buonarotti collection at Florence.³ Vasari noticed it in its original resting-place, the Cappella Cavalcanti in S. Croce. And its interest is great as showing not only the advance made by the Peselli, but the different mode in which subjects often treated by the Giottesques were conceived by the painters of the fifteenth century. The father and two of his daughters sleep on seats or on the ground in various parts of a large enclosed space, whilst the third daughter, standing behind her parent in surprise, witnesses the miracle performed by the youthful St. Nicolas, who throws the pieces from outside. The form and action of the saint, his fine head decked with curly locks, are admirable. Considerable movement marks the figures in the reprieve of the three youths, in which are some fine forms of soldiers in armour on horseback, and a breeze is seen playing in the folds of the flags. The third scene illustrates a phase of the same reprieve, St. Nicolas, followed by his suite, and spectators, being visible on the left,⁴ receiving the thanks of the youths, who have not taken time to resume their dresses. There may be a want of balance in the arrangement of this compartment, but the nudes exhibit a more advanced study of anatomy than that of previous examples,

¹ VASARI, II., p. 564.

² The drawing of every part in the picture of S. Giorgio is firm, fine, and precise.

* ³ On this predella see the appendix to this chapter.

⁴ The bishop is in benediction. The figures holding up his cope are a fine group. The forms are precise as if chiselled in bronze.

although the unselect character of the nature reproduced is as apparent as ever.¹

Another predella originally in S. Piero Maggiore and now in Casa Alessandri at Florence, representing four scenes from the legends of St. Benedict and other saints, has been too much injured and repainted to justify a decided opinion. The remains would suggest, however, a hand and method different from the foregoing and more akin to those of Benozzo Gozzoli.²

The progress of a style which we now justifiably call that of the Peselli may be further traced in a "Trinity," fortunately secured for the National Gallery, and last in the collection of the late Mr. Bromley. Originally, as is believed, in a church at Pistoia, and shorn of the side panels,³ it displays an advance

¹ The feet are coarse, the outlines of muscles minutely defined. The proportions are imperfect, but the execution is more than ever careful, and the study of models is perfectly clear. The translucent and viscous colour shows the persistence of the efforts for reforming the system of panel-painting. The predella is in perfect preservation. A series of grey paper sheets are exhibited in the Uffizi at Florence, in which numerous studies from nature in pen and point may be observed. These are assigned to Maso Finiguerra. Something in the character and design of aged heads might point to the hand of Fra Filippo; but the drawing, and the forms which it renders, are in the manner of the foregoing pictures, suggesting the names of the Peselli or of Alesso Baldovinetti.

² This picture is in Casa Alessandri in Borgo degli Albizzi, and is mentioned by Vasari in his lives of the Peselli (iii., p. 37). The subjects are: (1) Totila's interview with Benedict. (2) The Fall of Simon Magus. [* Not the Fall of Simon Magus, but the Death of Ananias. See WEISBACH, *Pesellino*, Berlin, p. 49, note 1.] (3) The Conversion of St. Paul. (4) The Widow's Son restored by St. Zenobius.

* The attribution to Gozzoli is now generally accepted. But this predella has, it must be admitted, strong traces of Pesellino's influence, an influence which also manifests itself in another version of the Miracle of St. Zenobius, recently in the Kann collection and now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. This last-named panel is the same predella picture that the authors saw in Rome in the collection of the Count Curti Lepri. (See the Italian edition of this work, vol. vi., p. 27.) Ricci is certainly right in giving this Berlin panel to Benozzo and in claiming that it was a part of the same predella as that to which the little picture by the master at the Brera belonged. This predella belongs to the picture Benozzo painted for the Confraternità della Purificazione, which is now in the National Gallery (No. 283). See RICCI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, No. 1, pp. 8 and 9.

³ Vasari describes a Trinity picture between SS. Zeno and James in the church of S. Jacopo of Pistoia (iii., p. 38). TOLOMER (*Guida*, u.s., p. 97), describing the church della Congregazione dei Preti at Pistoia, as now reduced to a private house, adds in a note, "Here was a picture by Pesello, of whom Vasari and

on the character of the Annunciation in the church of the Spirito Santo and of the Buonarrotti predella; but its interest is further increased by the exhibition of an art in the same path as that which characterises the predella, executed, as Vasari says,¹ by Pesellino in the style of Fra Filippo. As usual in such pieces, the Eternal, in a purple tunic and yellow mantle and wearing a conical mitre, floats on the clouds in a prismatic almond-shaped glory attended by cherubs and seraphs, and holding up to adoration a cross, to which the Redeemer is nailed. The searching nature of the drawing in the head of the Eternal, reminiscent of the works of Sandro Botticelli, draperies less in the involved style of Andrea del Castagno than near the finer and simpler style of Fra Filippo, the gentle character of the heads of cherubs and seraphs, are remarkable. The figure of the Redeemer is still imperfect in proportions and in the *ensemble* of the parts. The short arms are slender, and the hands small; the body is broad, the legs and feet coarse, but the form is not un noble in its realism, and proves the artist's assiduity in the study of nature's models. The brown toned landscape is adorned with dark trees laid in with viscous colour on a lighter ground, and strikes the spectator as an approach to those of the Pollaiuoli. The colours are like those of previous examples, high in surface, equal in the flesh, minutely lined in the hair, and confined by positive contours throughout.²

Baldinucci speak, and which they erroneously describe as in the Duomo." It was sold at the suppression of the church. The Trinity, without SS. Zeno and Jacopo, is said to be the centre of the picture noticed by Vasari. It was in the Ottley collection before coming into the hands of Mr. Bromley.

¹ iii., pp. 38, 39.

*² On this picture we have already spoken when discussing the works of Fra Filippo, because it was to the friar that the completion of the picture was entrusted after the death of Pesellino. The picture was assigned to Pesellino in 1455, by the Compagnia dei Preti, of SS. Trinità of Pistoia. The picture was composed of five compartments. In the central compartment, the only one remaining, was the Trinity. In the side panels were St. James, St. Zeno, St. Jerome, and S. Mamante. The subjects of the predella would naturally refer to these saints. It is claimed, with some probability, that the predella belonging to Cav. Antonio Gelli at Pistoia is the predella of the National Gallery picture. But it is difficult to distinguish in this predella, as does Weisbach (*op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63) the hand of Pesellino; and it is hard to give these pictures to Fra Filippo, as Mary Logan and Signor Bacci have done. (See BACCI, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, Nos. 8 and 9, p. 160.) It seems to us that

A less perfect, but still similar technical system is apparent in the Nativity of the Louvre,¹ assigned to Fra Filippo and previously the subject of remark in these pages.

Assigned to Fra Filippo also, a Virgin and Child between SS. John the Baptist, a bishop, Anthony the abbot, and Francis, in the ex-Campana Gallery,² reveals a style now sufficiently illustrated, and at least the school of the Peselli. Though injured in some parts by retouching,³ this piece shows considerable boldness and practical skill of handling, and affords a contrast of careful execution and study of nude with common types.

Amongst the Florentine customs of the fifteenth century, that of adorning family chests with paintings of a superior class is curious and interesting. Vasari's statement that the Peselli were often employed to paint such articles of furniture with battle pieces⁴ seems confirmed by the existence, in the present day, of two "cassoni" in the Palazzo Torrigiani at Florence,⁵ in which the encounter of David with Goliath and the triumph of David are depicted. The figures in both pieces are about a foot high, and are formed, in the triumph, into a well-ordered composition of natural groups in motion and converse. The noble gravity of a company of females, on the left side, is not impaired by the luxury of the costumes. It is a picture of a cheerful kind. The encounter with the Philistines, more episodic and less ably arranged, illustrates in a greater measure the passion for representing Bible scenes with the pomp of circumstance and of dress familiar to the upper classes of the time—of introducing familiar incidents, and the details of rich and varied landscapes

this predella is undoubtedly of the school of Fra Filippo. We may repeat here that for the whole altarpiece the friar received 115 florins, whilst Pesellino received only 88. To Pesellino, therefore, must be given the smaller portion of the work.

¹ No. 223, Louvre. See *antea*. This picture is, however, inferior to that of the Bromley collection.

² Now at the Louvre, No. 496.

³ The Virgin's head especially is injured. The type of the Virgin and Child, common, with something less of vulgarity in the former than in the latter. The white ground appears through the flesh tone.

⁴ VASARI, iii., p. 37.

⁵ In 1897 these pictures were bought by Lord Wantage, and are now in Lady Wantage's collection at Lockinge House.

peopled with all kinds of animals, of African as well as of European races. These are panels whose perfect preservation enables one to mark the deep study of nature in human, animal, and still life, described as peculiar to the Peselli. The fine, firm style of the drawing, the searching manner in which the details of nude parts are defined, the fair distribution of the various planes in pleasant landscapes, a fine colour of strong impasto, approximating to the improved methods now coming into practice, all point to the Peselli, whilst, in some types, an approach is made to the models of Fra Filippo Lippi. At a first glance, it is true, certain creations of Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Campo Santo of Pisa and in the Riccardi Palace at Florence rise in the memory of the beholder. But the manner and technical method of colouring dispel this first impression; whilst further consideration creates the conviction that Benozzo's works of this class are of a lower order. The natural conclusion is that these "cassoni" are by one of the Peselli and most probably by Francesco di Stefano commonly called Pesellino.

Vasari and Albertini¹ assign without any hesitation to this painter, the grandson of Pesello, a predella originally forming part of Fra Filippo's Santa Croce altarpiece, and of which three parts are in the Academy of Arts at Florence and two in the Louvre.² The most interesting of these fine compositions is that of the miracle of St. Anthony of Padua at Florence. The saint preaches from a low wooden pulpit attended by a friar, on the right. The body of a usurer in a coffin is on a trestle in the middle of the picture, and the bearers gaze on his side to ascertain the absence of the heart. Between this group and the spectator, three females sit looking on; and inside a room, on the left, a man finds the heart in the money chest. A gentle and natural animation pervades all the figures. The females on the foreground are in good proportions, and the whole is drawn and executed with neatness, precision, and freshness, and without vulgarity. A

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 38; ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., 14.

² Florence Acad. of Arts, No. 72: the Nativity, the Martyrdom of SS. Cosmo and Damian, St. Anthony of Padua's Miracle of the Usurer's Heart. Louvre, No. 1,414: St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata and SS. Cosmo and Damian Visiting a Sick Man.

certain realism and less dignity of mien mark the St. Francis at the Louvre, which is, like its companion, well preserved. The panel preserved at Florence has lost much of its original brightness of colour and harmony of tone and a consequent loss of unity in the tints by abrasion. Some heads, indeed, are bared to the preparation. The soft melting nature of the impasto, however, is that which is characteristic in the works of Fra Filippo.

In the same class as the foregoing we may note two predella scenes in the Doria Gallery at Rome representing incidents from the legend of St. Sylvester,¹ composed in a lively style and carried out with feeling, the scenes being distributed and drawn like those of the S. Croce predella and coloured in clear fused and pastose tones akin to those of Fra Filippo. The action of the figures is natural and their proportion good, with much freshness and power in the rendering of some of them. Many of the heads have a clear individuality, and some of the types are in the mould of Fra Filippo. These are creations in which we may trace the progress of the artistic hand which carried out the panels of the previous predella.

With these works as guides one may assign to Pesellino a somewhat injured Virgin and Child attended by two angels in possession of Signor Gaetano Zir at Naples. Some immobility and rigidity in the Saviour, erect on His Mother's lap, reveal the germ of similar defects in Benozzo Gozzoli. A certain tenderness and softness in the Virgin, and in the angels in prayer behind her, the curly locks which adorn their heads and necks, the simply lined draperies, a translucid colour, a little hard perhaps in this example, may justify the nomenclature of the picture.

Having thus classed, as far as is now possible, the works of the Peselli, and concluded with those which may, with most certainty, be assigned to Pesellino, one feels inclined to ask, is it possible that he should have produced so little? No doubt, creations that

¹ Nos. 29 and 30 of Doria Gallery Catalogue. No. 29, Sylvester before Constantine on one side, and in a second division of the same panel, Sylvester in confinement. No. 30, Sylvester Restoring the Two Magi to Life and Closing the Mouth of the Monster.

* The subjects of No. 29 are Sylvester Before Tarquin on the left, the Death of Tarquin in the middle, and the Liberation of Sylvester from Prison on the right. These pictures are now in the private apartments of Prince Doria.

are due to him lie concealed under other names, and some which suggest themselves might at once be mentioned; but in the uncertainty under which the critic labours, it is perhaps best to pause, and note such works under the names of those to whom they are assigned.

In summing up the results of the examination to which the works attributed to the Peselli have been subjected,¹ one sees that, from the Annunciation of S. Giorgio, which bears the character of a youthful production, back to the first, given to Giuliano d'Arrigo, a development in one clear path of art is obvious. From these to the last, assigned to Pesellino, a further development in the same road may be observed. A natural conclusion might be to affirm that the first series was executed by Pesellino in his grandfather's atelier, and that the last were produced after the death of Giuliano.

A few final lines may now be devoted to certain Virgins classed under the name of Pesello and Pesellino in divers galleries.

BERLIN, *Museum*. A fine Virgin and Child, No. 108, assigned to Pesello.

FRANKFORT (Stædel Gallery). A Virgin and Child, No. 40, assigned to Pesello.

LONDON, *Collection of Mr. Barker*. A Virgin and Child, inferior to the foregoing, assigned to Pesello.

These three pieces are such as to suggest at least the name which they bear. Amongst persons capable of critical judgment in matters of art, a general impression prevails that the name of the Pollaiuoli would be more appropriate. Another name, however—that of Verrocchio, presents itself, and may be discussed hereafter.

¹ We find that these pictures are all in the new method more or less, except the predella added by Pesellino to Fra Filippo's altarpiece, the predella in the Doria Palace at Rome, the predella in Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi, in so far as its injured state warrants a judgment, and, in part, the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The rest, besides being in the innovating manner, are marked by minute study of landscape episodes and details, and represent exactly that species of works which Vasari describes in the life of Antonello da Messina when treating incidentally of the Peselli and Baldovinetti, and in the Life of Baldovinetti himself.

We must erase distinctly from the list of Pesellino's works a Virgin and Child in Lord Ward's Gallery, Dudley House, which bears the clear impress of the hand of Sebastian Mainardi, the best of the pupils of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

In conclusion, another class of Madonnas of inferior merit, but characterised by a gentle, slender, and somewhat feeble nature, and marked by a partiality in the artist for roses and other flowers as accessory ornament, may be noticed, and may be given, in the absence of any real claim to the name of Pesellino which they bear, to Graffione, a pupil of Alesso Baldovinetti, not forgotten by Vasari.¹ A fresco by this painter remains, in part damaged, above the door of the Chiesa degli Innocenti at Florence, and represents the Eternal amongst angels.

An "Exhibition of a Relic" in the Liverpool Gallery, assigned to Pesellino, is a work which, if the memory of it be not treacherous, betrays the character of a Sienese painter, either Francesco di Giorgio or Neroccio.²

A Nativity in the Dresden Gallery (No. 10) is assigned to Pesellino, but has no peculiarly marked character. It is, however, a feeble production neither by Pesellino nor by Paolo Uccello.³

¹ VASARI, ii., p. 593.

*² As the Editor has shown elsewhere, this picture is by Vecchietta. See the *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Sienese Art* held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904, pp. 23 and 63.

³ A short list may be made of works assigned to the Peselli of which no trace is at present discoverable. This list includes: "Cassoni" in Casa Medici at Florence (VASARI, iii., p. 37), a Virgin and Child between two saints in S. M. Maggiore (*ibid.*, iii., p. 38), a Crucifixion in the Compagnia di S. Giorgio (*ibid.*).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

PESELLO AND PESELLINO

IT is now possible, owing to the results of recent research, to distinguish with some clearness between the achievements of these two artists.

Round the Buonarroti predella of the Legend of St. Nicholas, Weisbach grouped certain other works in an article in the *Repertorium* in 1899 (see *Repertorium f. Kunst.*, 1899, p. 76). And Mackowsky, working independently, also classified several works with the Buonarroti predella (see *Zeitschrift f. bild. Kunst*, 1899, p. 81 *et seq.*). Two years later in an article in the Prussian *Jahrbuch* (*Jahrbuch Preuss.*, 1901, pp. 35-55) he identified this master, whom he called "Der Meister des Carrandschen Triptychons," with Francesco Pesello.

This group of pictures, according to Weisbach, consists of the following paintings:—

- (1) The Buonarroti predella.
- (2) The triptych of the Carrand collection, at the Bargello, which comes from S. Niccolò oltr' Arno at Florence, and represents the Virgin and Child with St. Peter and St. Nicholas on the right and St. Francis and St. John Baptist on the left.
- (3) A St. Antony of Padua, with Christ and the Virgin in the upper angles, in the Berlin Gallery (No. 1,141).
- (4) Four heads in tondi—three prophets and a sybil—in the angles of a frame that contains a Madonna in stucco in the manner of Michelozzo, also in the Berlin Gallery (No. 58A).
- (5) A predella, or a part of a cassone, in the Fabre Museum at Montpellier, having for its subject the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi.
- (6) A Crucifix in the church of S. Donnino a Brozzi near Florence.
- (7) A Madonna and Child between two Benedictine saints, in Dr. Weisbach's own possession at Berlin.

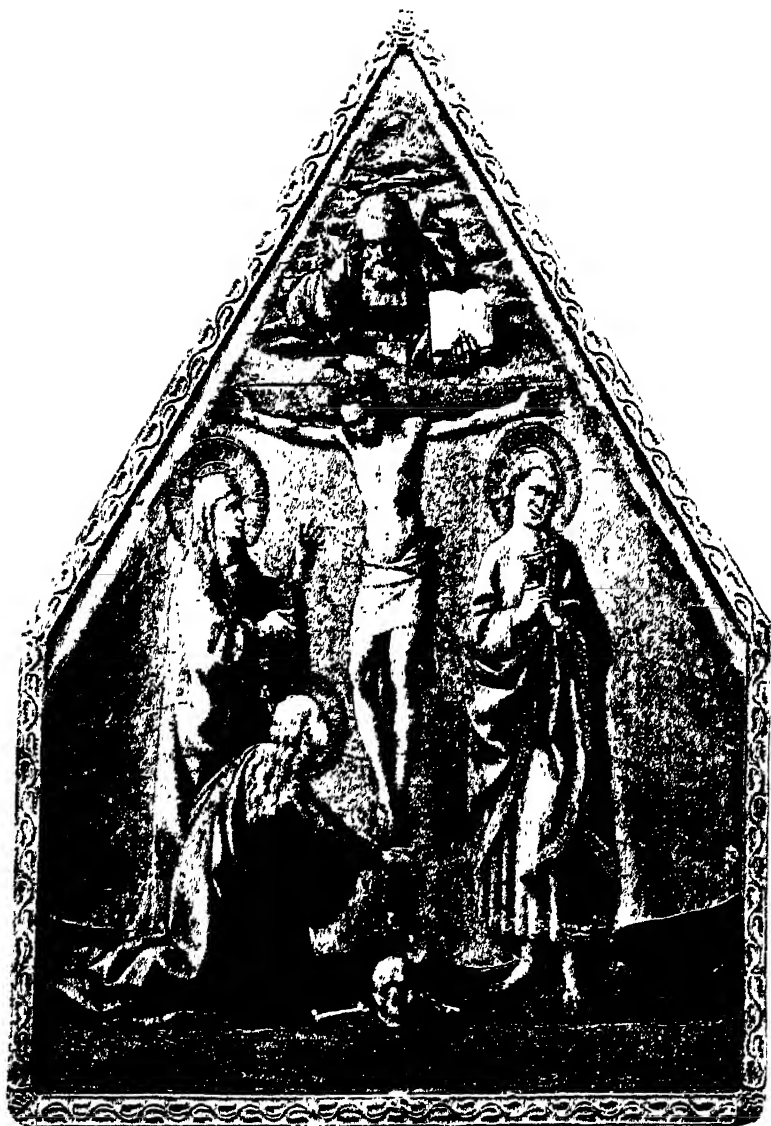
To these works we would add with WULFF (*Unbeachtete Malereien des 15 Jahrh.*, etc., in *Zeitschrift f. bild. Kunst*, 1907, p. 99-106) a forcible figure of a bishop, evidently a portrait, which is frescoed in the Spini

chapel at S. Trinità at Florence. (The lower portion is entirely repainted.)

In such pictures we find a realistic tendency that reveals itself in a display of anatomy in the treatment of the nude and in a certain hardness in the design. Moreover, we observe in them evidences of the artist's relationship with Andrea del Castagno, and, above all, with Alesso Baldovinetti. In the earlier works we find, too, manifestations of the hold that earlier traditions of the art of painting had upon the master, which tend to prove that he belonged to the earlier half of the fifteenth century, all of which accords well with what might be expected of Giuliano Pesello, who died in 1447, and who was, as we know, a capable delineator of animals, and one of the first masters to attempt to substitute oil for tempera (VASARI, II, p. 564), a distinguished artist in his day, as he is one of the few painters referred to by Laudino and by the anonymous Florentine biographers (Codice Magliabechiano, Stroziano, and Petrei). Moreover, the Buonarrotti predella is attributed to him by Vasari (III, p. 37). It is, therefore, highly probable that Giuliano Pesello was the "Master of the Carrand Triptych," and the author of the other works we have mentioned as belonging to the same group. In him the naturalist school of Florence of the quattrocento has another champion, whose art is the logical development of that of Baldovinetti.¹

Quite a different artistic aim was that of Giuliano Pesello's nephew, Francesco, called Pesellino, although he worked some time in his uncle's bottega. Pesellino, in fact, was much influenced by Angelico and Fra Filippo. According to Weisbach (*op. cit.*, p. 37, etc.), the influence of Angelico was direct. He asserts that Pesellino, about the year 1440, worked under his direction, and collaborated with him in the predelle of the altar-pieces of S. Marco and of Perugia. But this collaboration is not proved either stylistically or documentarily. It is not proved stylistically, because nothing more definite can be affirmed, at present, than that these portions of predelle are by a pupil of Angelico. It is not proved documentarily, because we know that Pesellino remained in his uncle's bottega until the date of the latter's death. However, the connection between the art of Angelico and that of Pesellino is obvious.

¹ Before the identification of Giuliano Pesello with the "Master of the Carrand Triptych" is absolutely assured, other proofs are necessary. For the present the confirmation of this theory which Weisbach (*Jahrbuch Preuss.*, 1901, p. 54, note 4) anticipated from the discovery of a Crucifixion with St. Jerome and St. Francis, in the church of S. Giorgio alla Costa at Florence has not been forthcoming, since this fresco has nothing to do with the "Master of the Carrand Triptych."



CRUCIFIXION

By F. PESELLINO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

Pesellino's relationship with Fra Filippo, however, was direct and continuous, probably from the death of Pesello onwards. About 1450 he executed the predella of Fra Filippo's Santa Croce altar-piece; and, in 1457, when Pesellino died, the friar was commissioned to finish the Pistoia picture. The influence of Fra Filippo was obviously the dominating influence with Pesellino in this his last period, and is clearly seen in his types and in the drapery of the figures.

In his achievement we can also trace other minor influences, but they are not of such a character as to convict him of that eclecticism which BERENSON, for example, charges the master with (*Revue Archéologique*, 1902, I, pp. 190-5) when he gives to him that little picture of the Madonna with Saints and Angels at Empoli, which is obviously by some feeble follower of Masaccio. For Pesellino, though constantly susceptible to influence, shows always a distinctive artistic personality. Even in his most imitative works he was never merely an imitator. In his work we always find a combination of qualities which is peculiarly his own. By means of subtle gradations of colour and chiaroscuro he gives roundness to the bodies he paints. His colour scheme is always rich and somewhat unusual. Finally, in all his works there is a certain romantic feeling and a graceful, unobtrusive vitality which causes the scenes he depicts to haunt our memories when other more important and imposing works are half forgotten.

These qualities we find, in the highest degree, in Lady Wantage's Triumph of David, in two cassone pictures representing the Trionfi of Petrarch—the Triumphs of Love and Charity and Death in the one and the Triumphs of Fame and of Divinity in the other—which, in 1894, passed from the Austen collection to that of Mrs. Gardner of Boston.

Amongst other works of a similar character to the preceding, we may mention the Madonna and Child with Saints and Angels at Chantilly, the Little Trinity of the Berlin Gallery, and the Madonna with St. Jerome and St. John Baptist that was in the Hainauer collection at Berlin, as well as the Annunciation, of Sir Hubert Parry's collection, which of all his known works is that which is nearest to the art of Fra Filippo. We may also mention the two cassone pictures of the Seven Virtues and the Seven Liberal Arts which were recently in the Wittgenstein collection at Vienna, and two fine drawings by the master, one the Birth of Christ, in the Louvre, and the other a Marriage of St. Catharine, in the Uffizi Gallery.¹

¹ MACKOWSKY, *art. cit.*, pp. 83 et seq.

We cannot here enumerate the works of the school of Pesello, many of which are cassone pictures of varying excellence. An attempt has been made by Mary Logan¹ to group several of these works together and to find in them a distinct artistic personality, a *Compagno di Pesellino*. This attempt, whilst it is interesting and informing—as all such efforts must be when made by a well-endowed critic—has not been altogether successful. In fact, the works that are given to this “*Compagno di Pesellino*” seem to be by several artists who were more or less influenced by the master.

¹ MARY LOGAN, *Compagno di Pesellino*, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1901, II., pp. 18 *et seq.* and 333 *et seq.*

CHAPTER IX

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI

AMONG the artists whom Vasari specially distinguishes as the authors of tentative efforts for the improvement of vehicles, Alesso Baldovinetti occupies a prominent place. Born in 1422,¹ he lived to the very close of the century, gaining a name for the minuteness with which he studied still life in nature, the boldness, more than the success, with which he introduced the old tempera varnish amongst the mediums employed in wall-painting, and the cleverness with which he executed or repaired mosaics. The number of his works preserved at this time is in marked contrast to the uncommon length of his career, and it is difficult to name more than two or three productions entitled to be called his. That his father, who was in trade, should have yielded reluctantly to Alesso's inclination for artistic studies, proves the painter's early enthusiasm and perseverance. Whether he followed the precepts or frequented the workshop of more than one painter is not ascertained. The master to whom he owed his early education is not even known; and Baldinucci only conjectured that that master was Paolo Uccello.² Some foundation may be admitted for this belief; because Baldovinetti displays affinity to him, to Andrea del

¹ GAYE (*Carteggio*, u.s., i., p. 224) publishes in full Alesso's income-tax return for 1470, in which he declares his age to be forty. The same author quotes, however, another income-tax paper returned by Alesso's father Baldovinetti d'Alessandro Baldovinetti, in 1427, in which he states that his son Alesso is five years of age. We may assume, therefore, that Alesso had forgotten his birthday, and accept in preference the statement of his progenitor.

* E. LONDI has shown that Alesso was born in 1425. See *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, p. 191.

² BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, u.s., v., p. 318.

Castagno, the Peselli,¹ and even Domenico Veneziano. He may, indeed, being registered in the Florentine guild of St. Luke in 1448,² have taken a part in the adornment of the S. Egidio chapel in S. Maria Nuova, whose walls were painted at intervals during ten consecutive years (1441-51) by Andrea and Domenico.³ The name of Baldovinetti, it is true, has not been discovered in the accounts of the hospital,⁴ but Vasari's assertion that he worked there⁵ is confirmed by the earlier authority of Albertini, who says: "The chapel is half by Andreino, half by Domenico, although some figures in front (dinanzi) are by Alesso Bal."⁶ The few records which have reference to Alesso's career, all prove that he was looked up to as a master of some station in Florence. It is well known that, during the greater part of the fifteenth century, the Florentines were accustomed to visit churches not merely to hear mass, but to listen to lectures on the poetry of Dante. In S. M. del Fiore these lectures were frequently delivered by an exponent paid out of the coffers of the State. It was natural that such churches as were selected for this purpose should have a likeness of the poet in a prominent place. In S. M. del Fiore, the Franciscan Antonio, public lecturer on Dante in the early part of the fifteenth century, had placed such a likeness. To this, which may have become damaged, the superintendents of the edifice added another in 1465. The design for the likeness was given by Alesso Baldovinetti and executed by Domenico di Michelino; and it is characteristic of the confidence which was reposed in the former by his employers that he was appointed to value the work which

*¹ It would be more accurate to say that Baldovinetti shows affinity to Giuliano Pesello.

² GUALANDI, *u.s.*, ser. vi., p. 177.

*³ Domenico Veneziano worked here from 1439 to 1445. Andrea del Castagno from January, 1450 (Florentine style), to September, 1453. (See O. H. GIGLIOLI in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, pp. 206-8.)

⁴ *Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani*, 1860, p. 9; 1862, pp. 4-5.

*⁵ MILANESI found in the accounts of the hospital for the year 1460 a payment for certain figures by Baldovinetti "messe attorno alla tavola dell' altar maggiore," and GIGLIOLI (*art. cit.*, p. 208) a document of 1461, in which the artist promises to finish a "Storia della Madonna" left unfinished by Domenico Veneziano.

⁶ VASARI, ii., p. 592.

*⁶ ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, *u.s.*, p. 13.

Michelino had carried out from his model¹ We find Alesso again valuing an altarpiece painted by Neri di Bicci for S. Romolo in 1466.² His income-tax returns are dated 1470 and 1480, and from these it appears that he was married and lived in Florence in the "popolo di S. Lorenzo" outside the Faenza³ gate.

The works which may be safely assigned to Baldovinetti are few. The best known are a fresco in the cloister of the Annunziata at Florence described by Vasari,⁴ an altarpiece originally in the Villa of Caffaggiolo, now at the Uffizi, and a Trinity with saints executed for the chapel of the Gianfigliuzzi in S. Trinità at Florence.⁵ Not one of these interesting productions but is injured by scaling or by the abrasion of the colours.

Baldovinetti's fresco in the SS. Annunziata is on the wall to the left as one enters the church from the cloister. The Virgin kneels in prayer on the left before the infant, who lies naked on the rough ground of the pent house. St. Joseph, in thought, sits to the right with his hands clasped over his right knee. Two shepherds advance towards the group from the right. Behind the Saviour, the ox and the ass are near the manger; and close to the stone wall of the ruin, a pomegranate and other trees are growing. A serpent, crawling up the stones behind the first shepherd, seems to symbolise the sins of our first parents and of the world. The apparition of the angel is represented in a landscape to the left, where one of two shepherds who lie on the ground looks up inquiringly towards heaven. The perspective of the distance is improved by the retreating lines of a road and a bridged stream. In the air above the scene, four angels are in part preserved, one of them displaying some foreshortening, the whole composition being framed in a painted border interrupted by medallions, in some of which half-bust portraits still exist.⁶

¹ See the original commission dated January 30, 1465, in GAYE (*Carteggio*, ii., p. 5), and the valuation dated June 19 of the same year (*ibid.*). The price paid to Michelino was 155 lire. ² BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, u.s., v., pp. 185 and 317.

³ GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., pp. 224-5. His wife was called Monna Daria, whose dowry is recorded to have been paid to Alesso in 1479, after he had been many years married and had a daughter of thirteen. ⁴ VASARI, ii., pp. 595-6.

⁵ To these works may now be added an Annunciation at the Uffizi (No. 56). See *antea*, p. 192, note 5.

⁶ The fresco was commissioned, owing to a legacy of Arrigo Arrigucci, on May 27, 1460. In 1462 the artist was again working there. (See MILANESI, ii., p. 595, note 3, and C. VON FABRICZY in *Report. f. Kunst*, 1902, p. 392.)

The condition of this work is such that a most minute examination of it is necessary; and even then the character of the master is to be traced only by a comparison of the remains with the injured picture at the Uffizi.¹ It affords no clue to Baldovinetti's talent as a colourist, the tones being in part scaled off, in part abraded, so that the eye wanders over a dull surface of dead preparation. But one may still perceive that the work was not executed in the usual method of Florentine wall-painting, and one may assume that the same means which Baldovinetti employed in the frescoes of S. Trinità in the last years of his career were used at the SS. Annunziata. The painting is described by Vasari as: "sketched in (*abbozzato*) in fresco," and retouched "a secco," the colours being tempered with a mixture of yolk of egg and heated *vernice liquida*.² "Baldovinetti thought, adds Vasari, that this tempera would guard the painting against wet, but it was in such a measure strong that, where too heavily laid on, it scaled off; and whereas he thought he had discovered a rare and most useful secret, he found himself deceived."³ Apart from its durability, however, the vehicle seems to have had some charm for Baldovinetti, for it enabled him to give such minutiae that, as Vasari further states,⁴ he painted

¹ Injured, because it is not free from restoring.

² It is evident that the method described by Vasari was faulty; because colours so treated had not the necessary hold on the wall; and being besides of a fat substance and mixed with dryers, must fall when exposed, as we see they did in the SS. Annunziata and in S. Miniato al Monte. For the materials with which *vernice liquida* was made, consult Sir C. Eastlake's work *Materials, u.s.* A reference to Cennini's treatise will also show that heated *vernice liquida* was only used for varnishing tempera pictures when the operation was performed indoors and out of the sun (*vide Libro dell' Arte*, by CENNINO CENNINI, ed. G. and C. Milanese, *u.s.*, pp. 108-9).

³ Valuable information relating to the artist and his technique is to be found in a *Libro di Ricordi* recently discovered and published by HORNE (*Burlington Magazine*, 1908, June, p. 22 *et seq.*, and July, p. 163 *et seq.*). In this book he notes all the expenses he contracted in connection with the frescoes of Santa Trinità. It has not been possible up to the present to trace another *Libro di Ricordi* of Baldovinetti, in his own handwriting, of which Milanese copied a part (see *Carte Milanese*, P. iii., 40, p. 280, in the Communal Library at Siena). Milanese says that he saw the original in the Archivio dell' Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova (VASARI, ii., p. 594, note 2). In this lost *Libro* the notes relate to the years 1449-91. The *Ricordi* of Baldovinetti have lately been republished by G. POGGI.

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 596.

the penthouse so that one could number the stems and joints of the straws, the roughened surface of stones worn by rain and ice, and the roots of an ivy bush whose leaves were coloured of different tints at each side as in nature.¹ Alesso was in fact not only one of those who tried innovations in technical preparations requisite for artists, but a student of still life, of detail, "depicting from nature, rivers, bridges, stones, herbs, fruits, roads, fields, towns, castles, squares, and other similar things." His labour in this work of detail at the Annunziata was lost, however, because the medium he employed caused parts to scale away and parts to become darkened and blistered. Yet one may still discern in his landscape some power in the imitation of natural objects, a power which Piero della Francesca possessed in a still higher degree, and which strengthens the impression that Baldovinetti was of the same class of realists which already numbered Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno, and the Peselli. Nor would this impression be weakened by the analysis of figures, in which the "charm of reproducing nature," as Rumohr has it, led Baldovinetti to copy, not any ideal of form or proportion, but the humble and coarse reality of peasant nature.² This tendency, with which we are familiar in the Flemish or German schools, is more marked in Baldovinetti than in any of his contemporaries, although one may freely grant, at the same time, that in composition he showed no lack of the balance proper to the great schools. His mode of rendering action, however, was hard, his draperies angular and broken, and we thus have enough to justify the classification of his talent by the side of that peculiar to the men whose names have been enumerated. Great precision in outlines and in the rendering of minute forms, an involved system of curling locks in the heads, a Virgin not without beauty in contour and action, remind one of similar peculiarities in Domenico Veneziano or the Peselli. His Nativity at the SS. Annunziata is, on the whole, an approach to that of the Louvre,³ in which we have traced, less the manner of Fra

¹ VASARI, *ivi*.

² The feet and hands of his figures are large and coarse.

³ This is true not only of the general form of the composition, but of the execution. The angels at the SS. Annunziata, too, are hard and un noble, as in the so-called Fra Filippo of the Louvre.

Filippo to whom it is assigned, than that of the family which might boast of Francesco Pesellino as its latest illustration, and point to him as a contemporary of Baldovinetti.

The picture at the Uffizi¹ explains still more of Baldovinetti's artistic character, as it reveals that he was familiar to a certain extent with the mixed style of colouring panels now customary.

The Virgin, seated in a Roman chair, occupies the middle of a space at the sides of which six standing saints gravely adore the infant Saviour,² extended horizontally on his mother's knee, whilst nearer the spectators kneel SS. Francis and Dominic. The sky and trees peep over a screen of tapestry at the back of the group. A carpet under the Virgin's feet decks a meadow sprinkled with flowers, on whose petals the feet of the saints seem to make no impression. Though injured by restoring,³ the flesh tint still betrays the imperfection of the medium substituted as in the Peselli to the old one of tempera. Viscous and difficult to manage, it is of an even yellow tone, stippled with most minute lines, even in the lights. The result is a general flatness, and little contrast of light and shade; and with this, one marks the now usual high surface colour, through which the eye plunges to a certain depth.⁴

The careful minuteness with which an altarpiece of all but life-size figures is thus carried out seems to have lamed the spirit of the artist, whose figures are feeble, thin, and of sharp, bony forms, and clothed in spare draperies. A polished cleanliness in the outlines, in the modelling of the forms, and in the tones of the draperies reminds one of the tendency common to the age of taking chiselled objects for imitation—of the lustrous character given to his work by Verrocchio's pupil Lorenzo di Credi. The curling and puffed-out locks are those noticed in the creations of the Peselli, and still characteristic later in Verrocchio, Botticelli, and Filippino Lippi. The head of the Virgin is, in character, like that of the SS. Annunziata, and her figure the best in the picture.

¹ No. 60.

² These saints are (left) SS. Cosmo, Damian, and John the Baptist; (right) Anthony the Abbot, Lawrence, and a monk. [* The last saint is St. Julian.]

³ The left half of the Virgin's face is restored.

⁴ This is true of the draperies also, whose tones are of a lurid hardness, and flat from want of relief by light and shade.



MADONNA AND CHILD AND SAINTS

BY ALESSIO BALDOVINETTI

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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Baldovinetti varied his labours at the easel by working in other branches.¹ He is known to have repaired, in 1481, the mosaic over the portal at S. Miniato al Monte.² But his chief efforts in that direction were expended on the Baptistery at Florence, the piece above the portal facing S. M. del Fiore having been repaired in 1482, and the tribune in 1482-3.³ It was not till 1496 that he completed the Gianfigliuzzi chapel or choir in S. Trinita,⁴ in which he depicted numerous scenes from the Old Testament, introducing into his subjects, according to an old and time-honoured custom, the portraits of many men of note in his time.⁵ The manner in which these wall paintings were executed has been described. They had already lost much of their beauty in Vasari's time, still existed in 1755,⁶ and were destroyed in 1760.⁷ They must have been originally a fine

¹ Baldovinetti, it might seem, took much pains to discover means for the proper execution or restoring of mosaics. The tendency in him seems to have been to make experiments; and perhaps, in searching to solve chemical problems, it happened to him, as occurred to Uccello when he gave himself up to perspective. He perhaps spent the greater part of his time in this pursuit. The works of Baldovinetti indeed show us less an artist than a chemist; and we may find in this a true cause for the paucity of works produced by him. But he may, on the other hand, have done good service to art by studying the technical parts of it, particularly in mosaics, in which he claims the merit of having taught Ghirlandaio.

² VASARI, ii., p. 596, note 2.

³ *Vide* RICHA, *Chiese*, v., p. 36. [* In the year 1461 Baldovinetti is already known as a mosaicist, for in that year he was at Pisa to execute a St. John Baptist above a door of the Duomo (I. B. SUPINO, in *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1893, p. 419). He also restored mosaics at Florence in the Baptistery and in S. Miniato during the period 1487-91. His *Ricordi* reveal his connection with yet another branch of art: they show that he executed a number of cartoons for stained-glass windows. He made cartoons for windows in the Cappella Maggiore at S. Trinita at Florence, for S. Martino at Lucca, for S. Agostino at Arezzo, etc. Mr. Horne has identified two made for the Pazzi chapel at S. Croce, a St. Andrew and a half-figure of the Eternal. (HORNE, *art. cit.*, p. 31 and plate i.)]

⁴ But they were begun twenty-five years before, on July 1, 1471, the artist promising to finish them in five years for two hundred ducats. (*Ricordi*, Libro A.)

⁵ VASARI, ii., pp. 593-4, gives a catalogue of the persons portrayed.

⁶ RICHA, *Chiese*, iii., p. 177.

⁷ VASARI, ii., p. 592, note 4.

* Some portions of these paintings can now be seen. In the vault are four prophets: Moses, Abraham, Noah, and David. Calm, dignified, severe, are these figures, like those of the Evangelists of Ghirlandajo in the vault of the choir of S. Maria Novella. In two lunettes of the walls are Moses on Sinai and the Sacrifice of Isaac, but of these scenes the design is almost invisible.

From the ruins of the frescoes of S. Trinita was saved a portrait, said to be that

ornament to the edifice in which they were executed; and our interest in them is increased by the knowledge that they were valued on the 19th of January, 1497/1496, by four artists of acknowledged fame—Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi, and Cosimo Rosselli.¹

The altarpiece painted by Baldovinetti for the same chapel, representing the Trinity between the kneeling SS. Giovanni Gualberto and Benedict, and long supposed to have perished, is obviously the injured picture of that subject in the Florence Academy of Arts.² Its colour has been, however, so abraded that the ground of the panel is in some parts bare. The rest is darkened and hard, but still displays characteristic features of Alesso's style. Of certain paintings in S. Miniato al Monte, assigned by Vasari to the Pollaiuoli, we shall have occasion to speak in the lives of those painters. It may be sufficient here to note that they exhibit a character and method similar to that of Baldovinetti; and this view may be maintained with some force, because Albertini,³ who mentions both the wall paintings and the altarpiece of S. Miniato, attributes the first to Alesso, the second to Piero Pollaiuolo.⁴

Another work not marked by Vasari, but classed amongst the

of the painter himself, which is now in a *tondo* in the Accademia Carrara at Bergamo. The portrait is certainly from the hand of Baldovinetti, but there is not sufficient proof that it represents the artist himself.

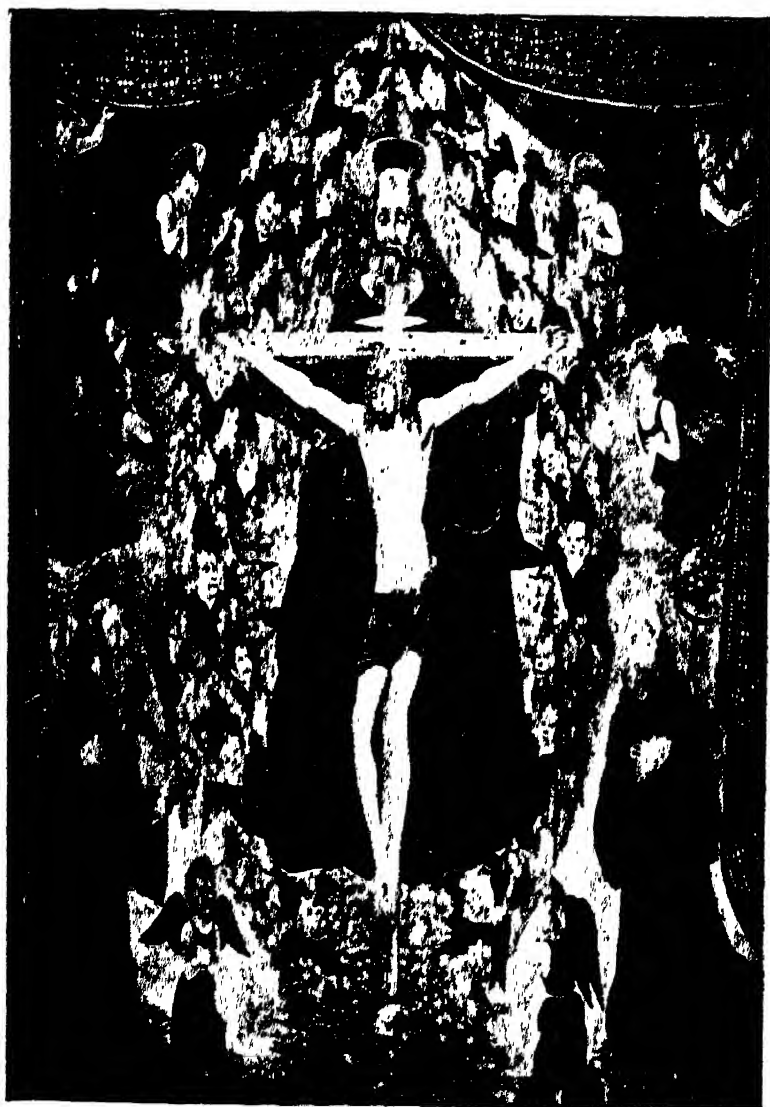
¹ The price they valued the frescoes at was 1000 florins in gold. The original valuation in the *Arch. Centr.* is printed in "*Alcuni documenti artistici non mai stampati, per le Nozze Bianca—Gentile—Farinola—Luigi Vai.*" 8vo. Florence, 1855, p. 18.

² No. 159. Vasari omits the St. Benedict, but the full subject was noted by Francesco di Giovanni Baldovinetti in a "*Memoriale*" MS. known to Baldinucci and to the recent annotators of Vasari. A garland of cherubs surrounds the Trinity, two angels holding back the curtains.

* The altarpiece was the first commission received from Gianfigliuzzi. Begun in April, 1470, it was finished on February 8, 1471. The sum of 87 gold florins was paid for it (*Ricordi*, Libro A).

³ ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 17. The altarpiece is now in the Uffizi. See *postea*.

*⁴ The frescoes of the Chapel of S. Miniato, represent, life-size, the Evangelists and Doctors seated on clouds, and eight Prophets in half-figure. That the authors were right in giving these frescoes, as well as the Annunciation on panel which faces the monument of Rossellino, to Baldovinetti (see the Italian edition of this work, pp. 111-17) is demonstrated by the documents discovered by GIGLIOLI



TRINITY

BY ALESSO BALDOVINETTI

From a picture in the Galleria Antica e Moderna, Florence

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youthful creations of Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a lunette fresco in the sacristy of S. Niccolò at Florence, representing St. Thomas receiving the girdle from the Virgin attended by two angels and surrounded by an almond-shaped glory held up by cherubim. The saint kneels before a richly ornamented sarcophagus simulating bronze, and bearing the repainted date M.CCCC.L.¹ A landscape, angels, in movement and type like those of Baldovinetti, draperies of a hard, dry, angular kind, recall to mind the fresco of the SS. Annunziata. But the work is painted in the old method of fresco, not in the new one noticeable in the only authentic wall painting of Alesso or in the paintings of S. Miniato.²

A pleasant picture in a style which wavers between that of Baldovinetti and Domenico Veneziano is one in the collection of Mr. Duchâtel in Paris, in which a half-length Virgin adores the Infant resting on a parapet before her, in a landscape of trees and hills.³ The style of the latter is that which we find in works of Piero della Francesca, to whom the picture is therefore not unaptly assigned. But the type and characters of the figures are not those of Piero, whose manner was ever consistently the same, and rather exhibits in the features and accessories of drapery the development of the style of Alesso.⁴

Baldovinetti may have met both Domenico Veneziano and Piero della Francesca, if he laboured in S. Maria Nuova at

(*Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, pp. 89-95), which prove that all this work was assigned to Baldovinetti by Bishop Alvaro in 1486, and that it was finished in 1473.

¹ The date is new. It may have been falsely copied on an old one, or added by a restorer.

² Three of the cherubs supporting the lower part of the Virgin's glory are in better preservation than the rest, which is retouched in most parts with oil colour. They are reminiscent of the style which characterises the picture at the Uffizi, and reveal an approximation to the manner of Ghirlandaio. If the work should be proved to have been executed by Domenico in his youth, we should have evidence of Vasari's statement that he was taught by Baldovinetti.

* ³ From the Duchâtel collection this picture passed into that of the Duke de la Trémoille and thence into the Louvre (No. on frame 1,300A). Another Madonna, less charming but better preserved than that of the Louvre, is in Madame André's collection.—It was bought from the descendants of Baldovinetti.—And a third Madonna, a charming work in a good state of preservation, is in Mr. Berenson's collection.

⁴ This picture has been restored and has lost some of the firmness and precision which mark the works of the masters named in the text.

Florence, where they were both employed, one as master, the other as pupil.¹ It is certain that his pictures embody something of their manner.

We may conclude this notice of the works of Alesso² by mentioning a fine Annunciation in the Dresden Gallery, assigned at one time to him, now attributed with a query to Pollaiuolo, but really by a painter³ of the Ferrarese school;⁴ a Virgin Adoring the

¹ See *antea*, note on p. 206.

*² Some other works of Baldovinetti that have recently been recognised may be mentioned here. We have already referred in the chapter on Fra Angelico to the three small panels executed by Baldovinetti for the silver-press of the Annunziata. We may also mention the Nativity in intarsia, in the sacristy of the Duomo at Florence, which was executed by Giuliano da Maiano from a design of Baldovinetti (1463). That this was one of several designs furnished to the intarsiatore is proved by the Libro A di Ricordi of Alesso.

In the Ruccellai chapel of the suppressed church of San Pancrazio is a Resurrection of Christ in fresco, which, notwithstanding its terrible condition, reveals itself as undoubtedly a work of Baldovinetti.

Also in a sadly ruined state is the picture which we know from the Ricordi that Baldovinetti executed in 1470 for S. Ambrogio by order of the prior Lorenzo Maringhi, and which Horne rediscovered (see *Burlington Magazine*, 1905, p. 51 *et seq.*). This altarpiece had in the middle the tabernacle of the sacrament, above which Baldovinetti painted the Holy Spirit, and three angels on either side, as well as St. John Baptist and St. Lawrence, and lower down St. Catherine and St. Ambrose and two other angels. When the Sacrament was removed to the tabernacle sculptured by Mino da Fiesole, Baldovinetti was commissioned to fill the space left vacant in the altarpiece with a Nativity. This work he entrusted to Graffione, who was paid for it by the master in 1485 (see J. MESNIL, in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, No. 4, p. 89). The Madonna Adoring the Infant by Graffione may still be seen in the middle of the picture. It harmonises badly with the rest of the altarpiece, and the introduction of St. Joseph between the Madonna and St. John Baptist is not happily done.

Another work of Baldovinetti was found by Giglioli in a corridor connecting with the church of San Marco. It represents a Crucifixion. At the foot of the cross is Sant' Antonino, over whose tomb it was formerly placed. The colour is much faded, but the forms, and especially that of the Christ, resemble strongly those in the picture at the Accademia, as also does the grove of cypresses in the background. The picture, with its fine original frame, may now be seen in the Sala Capitolare of the Museum of S. Marco.

*³ This picture is by Francesco del Cossa, and is attributed to that master in Dr. Woermann's catalogue, 1908 edition, p. 43.

⁴ No. 44 in the same collection, representing the Nativity and inscribed ANTONIVS (!) FLORENTINVS MCCCXXXIII, is a picture of the fifteenth century, of rude execution. The inscription seems forged or altered. [* This picture is of the school of Francesco del Cossa.] No. 47 in the same museum, Children gathering Manna, is a copy of a fine picture of the Ferrarese school in the collection of Lord

Infant, with St. Joseph and three angels, in the Munich Gallery,¹ by a poor artist of the fifteenth century, and a Virgin with the Infant, adored by angels, originally in Cataio, now in the Modena Gallery,² which is not by the master.

Francesco Baldovinetti records the fact that Alesso left a likeness of himself in his own wall paintings at S. Maria Nuova and in the choir of S. Trinita,³ but the portrait which Vasari engraved is taken from Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the Expulsion of Joachim in the choir of S. Maria Novella (1490).⁴

Alesso died on the 29th⁵ of August, 1499, and was buried in S. Lorenzo of Florence.⁶

His pupil Graffione has been sufficiently noticed in a few lines at the close of the lives of the Peselli.

The following is a list of the works attributed to Baldovinetti, which may be classed as lost, obliterated, or falsely assigned:

S. Benedetto fuor di Firenze. Frescoes. (BALDOVINETTI in MS. extr. Baldinucci. *Opere*, v., note to p. 320.)

Cloister of S. Croce. Flagellation (*ib.*), assigned by VASARI (ii., p. 672) to Andrea del Castagno.

S. Piero in Caligara. Altarpiece (*ib.*).

Canto de' Carnesecchi. Virgin and Child (*ib.*), not by Baldovinetti, but by Domenico Veneziano.

Palazzo de' Signori, Florence. Two Nativities (*ib.*).

Ward at Dudley House in London. [* Lord Ward's picture is now in the National Gallery (No. 1,217), where it is rightly attributed to Ercole de' Roberti.]

Whilst thus analysing pictures classed like the above under the head of works of the Florentine school, we may remark in the Dresden Gallery, No. 17, Archangel Michael, No. 18, Archangel Raphael and Tobit, both assigned to Gherardo di Jacopo Starnina. They are poor productions of the close of the fifteenth century. [* These pictures are by a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio. The attribution to Starnina has long disappeared from the catalogue.]

¹ Cat. No. 1,004.

² No. 30.

³ *Memoriale*, MS. excerpt in BALDINUCCI, *u.s.*, v., p. 319.

⁴ The third from the right side of the fresco, shaven and wearing a red-hooded cap. Manni, however, cites an MS. by Luca Landucci (*Vita di Domenico del Ghirlandaio*), in which the portrait in question is said to be that of Domenico's own father. *⁵ Not on the 29th, but on the 31st.

⁶ *Libro de' Morti*, in BALDINUCCI, *op. u.s.*, v., p. 318. Vasari states that he died in the Hospital of S. Paolo (ii., pp. 597 and 598). In the crypt of S. Lorenzo is the family grave, inscribed: S. BALDOVINETIS ALEXII DE BALDOVINETTIS ET SUOR. DESCEND. 1480. SCHORN'S *Vasari*, ii., 1, p. 379.

CHAPTER X

THE POLLAIUOLI

WE have reason to believe that the lives of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo have been, to some extent, falsely interwoven; and that, whilst history assigns the largest share of fame to Antonio as a goldsmith and painter, the claims of Piero to attention have been somewhat neglected.

Antonio and Piero were the first and last born of four children. Their father Jacopo d'Antonio was a goldsmith at Florence, the same perhaps whose name is recorded among the assistants of Bartoluccio and Ghiberti in the first gate of the Baptistery at Florence.¹ They were born severally in 1433² and 1443,³ Antonio being articled to his father, and closing his apprenticeship in 1459,⁴ Piero entering at tender years, if at all, the atelier of Andrea del Castagno, and joining his brother a little later.⁵

¹ It is not certain that Jacopo d'Antonio who worked under Ghiberti, and whose name in records bears the addition of "da Bologna" (*vide* commentary, VASARI, ii., p. 255), is the same as Jacopo d'Antonio, the father of the Pollaiuoli, but the identity of name and of profession suggest that they are one person. We might presume, if this were once admitted, that what Vasari relates as to the connection of Antonio Pollaiuolo with Bartoluccio and Ghiberti applies to his father, Jacopo. At all events, Antonio could not have taken part in the work of the Baptistery gates, as he was fifteen years of age when the last of them was completed (VASARI, iii., p. 286).

² More probably 1432, as is indicated by his Portata at Catasto of 1480, and also that of May 31, 1433. (See CAVALCASELLE AND CROWE, *ed. ital.*, vi., p. 73, note 2.)

³ These dates are given by Jacopo d'Antonio in his return to the Catasto in 1457, and may naturally be preferred to those given by Antonio in his own return of 1480 (*vide* GAYE, *Carteggio*, u.s., i., p. 365).

⁴ This fact is stated by Antonio himself in the return of 1480 (*ibid.*).

⁵ Besides Antonio and Piero, Jacopo had two other sons, Giovanni, who was born in 1439 and who carried on the paternal business in Florence as early as 1480, and Salvestro, born in 1435 (* not in 1435, but in 1433) and afterwards settled in Pisa. *Vide* GAYE, i., p. 265, and Antonio's will in Gualandi, *u.s.*, Ser. v., pp. 39 and following.

We must remember that Andrea del Castagno died in 1457. See *antea*, p. 137.

Antonio, after his emancipation from articles in 1459, opened a shop as a goldsmith, situate (at least as late as 1480) in the "Via di Vacchereccia, nel popolo di S. Cecilia" at Florence.¹ Contemporary journals, such as the family accounts of Cino di Filippo Rinuccini, record purchases from him, of a silver girdle in open work and niello (July 7th, 1461), "*tremolanti*" and gilt silver chains (April 6th, 1462).²

The natural connection of painting with sculpture has been described in these pages, where antique art is shown animating the first Christian painters, the sculptors of the Pisan revival and Giotto. We have seen the models of the Greeks and Romans studied by Donatello, and we have marked the position of that sculptor at the head of a class which, not only impregnated Christian themes with the pagan style, but which even imitated the subjects of Mythology. The tendency of the century to revive classic study in arts and letters produced a number of painters whose anxiety to realise the details of nature caused them to forget or ignore the necessity of selection. But even these, and others in whom realism was more select, were not unwilling to display the influence which they owed to emulation in rivalling as painters the works of sculptors or carvers in bas-relief.

The Pollaiuoli illustrate a kindred phase in the development of Florentine art, at a time when fashion had spread to articles of chiselled bronze and silver, representing figures and ornament, imitating still nature either really or after conventional designs. The spread of this fashion naturally gave an unusual importance to the goldsmith, whose business invaded that of the sculptor. As of old the atelier of the latter was usually combined with that of the painter, it was now comprised in the workshop of the goldsmith, who thus carried on the most various branches of the same profession. The result of this combination was a subordination of sculpture to the necessities of the goldsmith and relief-caster. The composition and the action of figures, their form and the lie of drapery, the arrangement of accessorial and ornamental detail in embroideries, jewels and head-dresses, all became

¹ See BALDINUCCI, *Op. u.s.*, v., p. 417, and GAYE, i., p. 265.

² These accounts are published in full in Gualandi, *u.s.*, Ser. iv., pp. 140, 141.

subservient to that necessity. It presupposed straight or but slightly bent lines, and simple breadth in the masses, though it did not preclude any amount of minuteness in detail or ornament, and was necessarily allied to great neatness and precision in lines and extraordinary cleanliness and polish of surfaces. Painting, being carried on in the goldsmith's shop, was subjected to so much of these rules as might be properly applied; and pictures came to resemble in colour and other features, imitations of silver and bronze works. The Pollaiuoli, Verrocchio, Botticelli and even Domenico Ghirlandaio were the exponents of this new fashion. It was carried so far, however, by the former that their works are altogether devoid of feeling or elegant form; and they seem to have had no other aim than to make pictures a pretext for illustrating the laws and mechanism of bronze. They were not unacquainted at the same time with the changes which had already been inaugurated by the Peselli, and favoured by Baldo-
vinetti. In so far as they had been wrought, these changes have been described. We perceive in the pictures of the Pollaiuoli some further improvements to the system. To them we owe the introduction of glazes in draperies, which being prepared at first in a sort of dead colour approximating to the tone intended to be used, were afterwards passed over with a general transparent tint as may be seen in certain reds, and strengthened in the shadows with a still deeper colour. When they proposed to use the ground of the panel for lights, they glazed the whole extent of the drapery, so that the underground appeared—laid in the half-tints and shadows with colour of greater body—and finally completed the latter with another layer, which thus remained high in surface. This mode of proceeding they varied with yet another. Glazing the ground of the panel to the colour of the semitones, they painted over the lights as well as shadows with more body, and thus left the half-shades alone transparent. They sought to break the monotony of colour by introducing changing tones in the lights and shadows of dresses. They represented coloured marble and bronze articles, and copied the nature of their own goldsmith's work in order to define and give distinctness to the objects which they depicted. Their preference for this mode of reproducing light and shade may be said indeed to mar

the flesh parts of some of their pictures, whose keys of tone and method of relief are too marked to be pleasing. Following the reverse of their practice in drapery, and seeking to give light as in nature, they painted the flesh and the hair with colour of full impasto, thus giving to the parts a high surface—to locks the aspect of cords, and to their work generally the appearance of marquetry. There are exceptions to this, however, and some pictures, displaying much light and fusion united to vigour of colour, present a manifest improvement. The difficulties which the Pollaiuoli encountered in the use of the vehicles introduced at their time were generally not less great than those which had been felt by their contemporaries. Their colour was of a general dull reddish tinge, rough in substance from the use of a viscous medium, too hard of manipulation to allow of easy handling, and, for the same reason, horny and high in surface. Raw contrasts were of frequent occurrence, and may be assigned to the same cause; and the comparative ease with which bituminous colour might be spread caused them to adopt it in most parts of their pictures, but especially in landscapes. One may still trace, indeed, the presence of a general bituminous tone under some of their flesh tints.

It is clear that although the Pollaiuoli added something to the practice of painters using the altered methods, they are no better entitled than other Florentines to claim the merit of having overcome the difficulties of oil, or of having perfected a subordinate part of painting to which much of the artistic development of the sixteenth century is due.

As regards drawing, we may listen to Benvenuto Cellini, who says, "Antonio was so great in it, that all goldsmiths and many sculptors and painters used his designs"; but these remarks apply perhaps specially to models of arrangement or distribution fitted for the wants of a class.

Whilst we admit in Giotto and the painters of the fourteenth century a certain neglect in the details of the outlines of forms, we find in the artists of the fifteenth century a reaction in the opposite sense, the details being thought of, and the dignity or proportion of the whole to some extent forgotten. The Pollaiuoli were of their age. The outlines of all their figures give angular

external blocks. Their drawing, though searching and rudely bold, is defective. It presents humanity without much grace of movement, without selection in the hands or feet, and often affected either in action or in dress. Yet one can see a great effort at realising muscular nature in the definition, often the cramped definition, of flesh parts which cling to and follow the forms of the bones,—or of veins which run like cords beneath the skin. The Pollaiuoli were indeed most in their element when they reproduced scenes in which muscular force was required, as in Hercules and Hydra or the Death of Antaeus, scenes which enabled them to display their qualities as students of muscular anatomy, and easier to copy from bronze than from nature.

The unanimous testimony of contemporaries assigns to Antonio Pollaiuolo the highest place among the goldsmiths of the time.¹ There is not a branch of his art, indeed, in which he does not seem to have shown his proficiency. Church ornaments, basins, helmets, chains, and crucifixes of most subtle workmanship, were either executed by him or carried out from his designs. When Volterra rebelled in 1472 and was sacked by the Florentines under Federigo di Montefeltro, Lorenzo de' Medici, the prime mover of the war, was entrusted with the collection of presents to gratify the triumph of the successful general; and one of the presents was a silver helmet carved by Antonio.² The "Signori" required a large silver basin for their use in 1473, and they took it from Antonio. In 1480 he valued a relic-casket made by Jacopo of Pisa for the finger of S. Gimignano in the Collegiata of the city of that name.³ The "consoli," in 1456, ordered a silver crucifix for the Baptistery from Betto di Francesco Betti, who finished the upper half of it and left the lower half to be completed by Miliano di Domenico Dei and Antonio Pollaiuolo.⁴ In the production of a Pax he is said to have rivalled the niello

¹ . . . "essendo stato dicto Antonio nostro cittadino, et huomo unico nella arte sua. . . ." Letter of the Florentine Signoria to their envoy Domenico Bonsi at Rome, February 13, 1498/1497. In GAYE, i., p. 340.

² GAYE, i., pp. 570-71.

³ PROCHI (*u.s.*, p. 637) gives the original record, which is dated Feb. 7th, 1480.

⁴ RICHA, *Chiese*, v., p. xxxi. * For the same "consoli dell' Arte della Mercanzia," Antonio executed, in 1470, two enamelled candelabri, now lost.

works of Maso Finiguerra.¹ Many of the reliefs in the silver dossale or altar table of S. Giovanni were furnished by him as early as 1477.² His constant relation and consultations with Lorenzo de' Medici on his peculiar art testified by a letter of 1489, in which the latter, foreseeing the approaching departure of Antonio to Rome, informs his agent Giovanni Lanfredini that the artist will bespeak certain things with him.³ The various commissions which he received at Rome from the Cardinal di Benevento and Monsignor Ascanio,⁴ the funeral monuments of bronze which he cast and carved for Popes Sixtus the Fourth (1493)⁵ and Innocent the Eighth,⁶ show that his time was principally spent in the production of works of the chisel. The assertion of Vasari that he cut medals of good workmanship,⁷ and that, after his death, models were found for an equestrian statue to Lodovico Sforza, prove that he was ready to execute the largest as well as the most minute undertakings.⁸ Without

¹ A Pax by Maso is preserved in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

² ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 9; VASARI, iii., pp. 287, 288; and RICHA, *Chiese*, v., p. xxxi. Yet GORI, ap. RUMOHR (*Forsch.*, ii., p. 301) says the works of Pollaiuolo must have been for some other monument in S. Giovanni than the "dossale."

* In the deliberations of January 13, 1478 (Florentine style) there was entrusted to Pollaiuolo but one of the four reliefs that were to be added to the dossal. Payments were made for this in 1480 and 1483 (*Catalogo del Museo dell' Opera del Duomo*, Florence, 1904, Appendix). The altar and the cross are in the Museum of the Opera del Duomo. Whilst he was engaged upon this relief for the altar, he executed also for S. Giovanni a reliquary for the finger of the saint and a rich cover for an epistolario. Previously—in 1466—he had furnished to the same church the designs for the embroideries of the sacred "paramenti" that are now in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo.

³ GAYE, i., p. 341.

⁴ *Vide* letter of the Signori from Florence, 1498/1497, to Domenico Bonsi, in GAYE, i., p. 340.

⁵ 1493?–1498.

⁶ This monument is in the nave, on the left hand, in St. Peter's at Rome. It represents Innocent at the top seated in benediction, with a lance in his left hand, flanked by the cardinal virtues, and with the theological virtues above the figure of the Pope. Below the Pope lies on his sarcophagus.

But this was not the original disposition of the monument, as is proved by designs, one of which is in the Beckerath collection in the Kupferstich Kabinett at Berlin, and one, by Grimaldi, in the famous Barberini codex at the Vatican.

⁷ VASARI describes a medal by Antonio Pollaiuolo struck in commemoration of the Pazzi conspiracy. It is engraved in LITTA, *Fam. cel. d' It. Medici*, fasc. vii., tom. i.

⁸ VASARI, iii., p. 297.

entering into the analysis of the various works of this kind which remain, one may select for criticism the monument of Sixtus the Fourth in the Cappella del Sacramento of St. Peter, in Rome.

The pontiff lies at full length on the lid of a sarcophagus, on the corners of which are figures of Virtues and ornaments in relief. The piece is remarkable for its successful distribution and the beauty of its ornamentation; but the rigid and exaggerated action, the searching study of the muscular developments of flesh, the realistic coarseness of the joints and extremities, the defective draperies, accuse an absence of the idea of severe sculptural simplicity, or prove that the hardness and angularity incidental to the casting of bronze were not to be overcome, when the artist attempted to realise too many of the details of movement in the limbs and extremities, or in the tendons and muscles.¹

A Crucifixion in low relief, forming part of the collection of bronzes in the Uffizi² and assigned to Antonio Pollaiuolo, would illustrate other features of his talent as a sculptor.³ Christ is crucified between the thieves—the unrepentant, writhing and foreshortened, as the executioner strikes at his limbs. The foreground is animated by the usual groups, the distance carried out according to the laws of pictorial perspective usual in Ghiberti; whilst the character and forms of the figures, their drawing and modelling, disclose a clear study of the antique and a vigour akin to that of Donatello. It is clear indeed that the artist had studied the great sculptors of his time and bowed to the superior style of at least one of them.⁴ The most surprising feature, however, in this piece is the low nature of the relief; and the eye is lost in wonder at the cleverness with which the unrepentant thief is foreshortened on a surface of such slight projection.

¹ This monument is inscribed: OPUS. ANTONII. POLLAIUOLI. FLORENTINI. ARG. AVEO. PICT. REE. CLARI. AN. DOM. MCCCCLXXXIII.

² Now in the Museo del Bargello.

³ This Crucifixion is now held to be a work of Bertoldo, as also is the medal of the Pazzi conspiracy. See BODE, in *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Sam.*, 1895, p. 153.

⁴ The figures are, however, less square than those of Donatello, of a slenderer build, too.

In their pictorial efforts the two Pollaiuoli must be taken together, as men whose style was affected by their continuous labours in plastic art, and mainly in works of bronze and silver. Their model as painters is Andrea del Castagno. One naturally inquires what is the share of Antonio and of Piero in such wall-pieces and pictures as are extant; and a natural presumption arises that works which display most sculptural elements and study of the antique owe most to the hand of Antonio, whilst those in which the pictorial element more certainly prevails are by Piero.

In the first class the small panels of the Uffizi,¹ representing the encounter of Hercules with Antæus and with the Hydra, are the most conspicuous. In the exertion of pressure on the waist of Antæus—in the act of striking at the monster, the life of the frames, their exuberance of projecting muscle, their prodigiously marked development and action, exhibit a great power in the reproduction of physical exertion in the human body; whilst the composition of the figures proves a study of the antique. The spirited drawing and the precision with which the parts are rendered, combined with other qualities, make this a masterpiece well worthy of attention; and we can well conceive it to be true, as Vasari says, that the Pollaiuoli had studied anatomy by dissection.²

¹ No. 1,153.

* VASARI, iii., p. 294, describes these subjects as being executed for Lorenzo de' Medici and in Casa Medici. The size, which he gives at five "braccia," will not apply to the pictures of the Uffizi which represent the same subjects in small proportions. The colour of the piece at the Uffizi is now a little embrowned. The landscape of hills and plain is minute and real.

* The three labours of Hercules by A. Pollaiuolo which adorned the large saloon of the palace of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and afterwards the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo dei Priori, must have been much admired, so often were they copied. Ridolfo Ghirlandajo copied them for Francis I. Painters of cassoni, intarsiatori—such as those who decorated the palace of Urbino—engravers, such as Robetta, sculptors, and other artists reproduced these pictures. A. Pollaiuolo also executed the little bronze of the Bargello of Hercules and Antæus and the two small panels of the Uffizi. These then could not have been finished much after the larger pictures, which we know from a letter from Antonio Pollaiuolo to Gentile Virginio Orsini (L. BORSARI, in *L'Arte*, 1892, p. 208) were executed in 1460. To the same period, and the same mythological group of paintings—that is to say, to a period anterior to 1467, as H. Cook has shown in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* (1906, pp. 53, etc.)—belongs a painting in the Jarves collection at Newhaven,

Had this been the only example of its kind, it might have sufficed to characterise the style of the artist. Others almost equally remarkable in sculptural features illustrate his genius; and these are the Virtues originally painted in the tribunal of the Mercanzia at Florence, one of which, that of Prudence, exhibited at the Uffizi,¹ is not without grandeur. The whole series is that of a man accustomed to deal with models suited to the exigencies of bronze. The figures are all life-size, each of them seated on a throne within a niche supported by feigned pillars, and adorned with feigned architectural ornament, the semidome of the niche itself being filled with a perspective of panelling and centre rosettes, and the bases being cut out into open work. The style of architecture, ornament, costume, and drapery, as well as the selection of colours in the figure of Prudence, exemplify the tendency to plastic imitation in the Pollaiuoli. We see a female whose hair falls in tresses, clad in a variegated and complicated costume, and decked in a blue mantle adorned with borders of precious stones, holding a staff capped with a medal in her left hand, grasping a serpent in her right.² Her throne is of white, red, and green marble. A carpet decks the demi-hexagon of parti-coloured stone on which her bare feet rest. The fine head reminds one of some executed by Piero della Francesca; the nude, though fair in style, is still marked with the stamp of coarseness which necessarily results from large and common extremities. The draperies are amongst the best executed by the Pollaiuoli and cleverly define the forms. The drawing is bold

U.S.A., representing the Rape of Deianira. (See also RANKIN, *Notes on Three Collections of Old Masters*, p. 11.) In the distant landscape with its abundant detail, as well as in the design, and the exaggeration of the muscles of the figure of Hercules, the art of Antonio is clearly manifested. But the execution may, as Bode maintains, be that of Piero.

¹ No. 1,306. The rest of the series, in so far as it was executed by the Pollaiuoli, is now also in the Gallery. No. 72, Faith, is repainted in the flesh tints and much injured in the remaining parts. No. 70, Justice; No. 73, Charity; No. 69, Hope, are so damaged that only parts of drawing and painting remain. No. 71, Temperance, is likewise much injured. The seventh Virtue, Fortitude, also at the Uffizi, is by Botticelli, see *postea*.

² Her sleeves are red, ornamented with gold. Her dress violet, with white lights, supposing the existence of a white net—fall over it. The blue mantle is lined with green.

and strongly marked, the flesh tint bright and clear.¹ The whole is evidently coloured with tones moistened with an oil medium in the manner already observed in the Peselli and in Baldovinetti, and modified according to the custom described as peculiar to the Pollaiuoli.²

The same phase of art is represented in a large St. Sebastian at the Pitti,³ in the usual coarse forms, disproportioned in the parts, but still displaying a reminiscence of a study of the antique, and coloured with the same bright, well fused tones impregnated with much vehicle, which mark the "Prudence" at the Uffizi.

Less of the plastic element, a more pictorial style, will be observed in the altarpiece of St. James between SS. Eustace and Vincent, originally painted for the Cardinal di Portogallo in S. Miniato al Monte, and now at the Uffizi.⁴ The three figures stand almost life-size on a marble pediment in front of a balustrade, supported by pillars of bronze, through and behind which may be seen a landscape and sky, recalling those produced with such mastery and minuteness of detail by Piero della Francesca and the Van Eycks, Antonello and the Venetians.⁵ The cos-

¹ And perhaps less rough in substance now than of old, in consequence of restoring.

² Of the series of the Virtues of the Mercanzia certainly the Prudence is the most vigorous, and in that Antonio may have had a share. But all these panels were ordered from Piero on December 18, 1469. In the same year, he had executed the Caritas and had been adjudged the superior of his competitor Andrea del Verrocchio, whom he also defeated in a similar competition, for the Portoguerri monument in 1477. Piero's design for the Fede, made for this contest, still exists at the Uffizi (No. 208). On August 2, 1470, Piero was paid for the second and third Virtues, that is to say, for the Temperanza and the Fede. A few days later Botticelli was paid for the figure of Fortezza. The documents relating to these paintings are published by Dr MESNIL, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1903, pp. 43-6.

³ No. 384. The figure is characterised by a small head, a square thorax, long legs and large feet.

* Following Berenson, the authorities at the Gallery give this picture to Jacopo de' Barbari.

⁴ No. 1301. St. James in the centre leaning on a pole, wears a blue vest with yellow tracery, and is enveloped in a rich red mantle of strong tone glazed with lake. A green cap is at his feet.

⁵ St. Eustace wears a greenish tunic, painted of a high surface—red stocking hose, glazed with a full body of lake—sleeves, yellow with flowers touched white in the lights (high-surface). The mantle is lined with white fur. St. Vincent is in a red dress adorned with borders stuffed with pearls.

tumes are richly variegated in strong colours, glazed and painted in the manner described as characteristic of the Pollaiuoli, and ornamented with the minuteness and overflowing luxury peculiar to the "orafi." The bright, clear, and lucid flesh tints are fused with much viscous vehicle. The picture is a fine one, but is still marked by the broken outlines and coarse extremities usual in all the works hitherto noticed.¹

The frescoes of the Evangelists, Doctors, and Prophets—a panel of the Annunciation in the chapel of S. Miniato, for which the St. James was executed, have been assigned to the Pollaiuoli.² The damaged remnants of the former exhibit to the spectator fragments, chiefly of drapery, in a careful style, reminiscent, as to drawing and technical methods of colour, of Baldovinetti's fresco in the SS. Annunziata. They are, indeed, classed by Albertini³ amongst the works of Alesso, and being, according to Vasari, "in oil," may possibly have been painted in the new and unsuccessful vehicle which proved so perishable in his "Nativity."⁴

The Annunciation, a rude and blistered tempera on panel, appears to have been produced by means different from those peculiar to the Pollaiuoli or Baldovinetti. It seems to be the patiently elaborated piece of a young beginner, who could afford to lavish time and finish upon details of borders, pearls, jewels, locks, and feathers.⁵ It stands clearly lower in the scale of art than the injured frescoes of the walls.⁶

The masterpiece of our artists,⁷ according to Vasari, is the

*¹ This altarpiece was executed in 1467, because at the end of that year a place was prepared for it above the altar. (See GIGLIOLI, in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, pp. 91 and 94.)

² VASARI, iii., p. 291.

³ *Memoriale*, u.s., p. 17.

⁴ The chapel was consecrated, according to an inscription on the arch, on the 11th of October, 1466. (RUMÖHR, *Forschungen*, ii., p. 269.)

* The only frescoes that can be given to the Pollaiuoli—it is probably by Antonio—are the two angels placed above the framework which enclosed the Three Saints now at the Uffizi.

⁵ Each lock of hair hangs in a twist by the side of the other, and the hairs are minutely lined. The feathers of the angel's wings are worked out with similar detail. The same may be said of the ornaments. The best part of the picture is the profile of the angel.

*⁶ See *antea*, p. 212.

*⁷ Vasari gives this picture to Antonio, but other earlier authorities give it to Piero. Dr. Bode holds that the picture was designed by Antonio and executed by Piero under Antonio's supervision.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. SEBASTIAN

By A. POLLAIUOLO

From a picture in the National Gallery, London

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Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, an altar table completed in 1475 for Antonio Pucci in the family chapel at the SS. Annunziata, and intended to immortalise Gino di Lodovico Capponi under the features of the saint.¹ Those who have daily occasion to see this picture in the National Gallery² may admit that it displays an activity and variety of life in the muscular action of the archers, in the sportive caracoles of horses, which remind one of Donatello's bas-relief for the pediment of the St. George at Orsanmichele. The figure of the martyred saint is a fine study of a fairly proportioned nude; but the imitation of a common nature in the coarse extremities and swollen veins or muscles is quite as apparent as the vulgarity of type and forms in the saint and his tormentors. It is a piece highly characteristic of the manner of the Pollaiuoli, but one in which the pictorial element is impressed with more force than upon foregoing examples. It is characteristic, not merely because of the life and action and the coarse realism which prevails in most parts of it, but because of the recurrence of the usual varied landscape with its abundant episodes and its classic Greek³ arch adorned with medallions, because of the rough surface, the reddish tones of the flesh, the glare and changing hues of the primaries, the absence of style in the draperies, and the obvious difficulty encountered in the use of the viscous medium. It is a fine work, but praised to exaggeration by Vasari.⁴

A less perfect specimen of manner and execution, but an equally interesting example of the Pollaiuoli's peculiar methods of painting, is the Archangel and Tobit of Orsanmichele now in the Turin Gallery.⁵ We need not pause to note the curious fancy which clothes the archangel in the antique costume, and

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 292, and RICCA, *Chiese*, viii., p. 54. Antonio paid 300 scudi for the piece. [* It is difficult to accept this statement, seeing that Gino Capponi had been dead some time when the monument was executed.]

² No. 292. It was purchased of the Marchese Pucci at Florence in 1857.

³ The arch is Roman in style.

⁴ There is a second example of the Pollaiuoli in the National Gallery, the little picture of Apollo and Daphne (No. 928), rich in colour and full of detail like the two little pictures of the Uffizi. It belongs, no doubt, to the same period as the Uffizi panels, and like them, is probably from the hand of Antonio.

⁵ VASARI, iii., pp. 291, 292. No. 117.

dresses Tobit in cap, mantle, buskins and hose, or mark the recurrence of broken outlines, defective articulations, coarse extremities and angular draperies. We shall take this picture as an illustration of the technical method employed by the artists in painting one of their characteristic landscapes. A stream meanders from distant hills towards the foreground. A city, a castle, and isolated trees dot the serpentine banks. There is a ferry near a castle, a couple of naked men contemplating a bath.¹ The whole distance is painted on a general brownish undertone of a liquid texture. Into this the blue hills are vaguely touched in a deeper bituminous brown of stiff and lustrous surface, defining, though with evident labour in the working of it, the trees, the castle, and the men on the banks, projecting like islets of colour on the panel. The water too is high in surface, of a whitish tone mingling with the under colour and with reflections dabbed on in blue. All this, at one sitting, *alla prima*, in that bold, effective, scenic way which will not bear close inspection, but indicates all that is required for effect—a brownish and somewhat parched landscape, with a mysterious twilight about it such as Verrocchio gave to his unfinished Baptism of Christ, the clear forerunner of that melancholy but soft landscape with its ideal labyrinths of hills and valleys and wandering streamlets which charm in Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*.² Thus we find in the Pollaiuoli the spring from which the students of pure light and shade, as distinguished from the colourists, arose, and we trace a direct descent from them to the perfection of Leonardo da Vinci.³

¹ A shaggy dog trots before the Archangel. The sky is decked here and there with fleecy clouds of high surface and lustrous vehicle.

² This applies equally to the Virgin of the Rocks at the Louvre, and, as regards methods of preparation, to the sketched Adoration of the Magi by Leonardo at the Uffizi.

³ Here as elsewhere the authors manifest Florentinism. It was the Venetians who released colour from the servitude of form, by their mastery of chiaroscuro. Leonardo's share in this noble revolt has been much exaggerated. From Fra Angelico to Verrocchio and from Verrocchio to Leonardo we can trace a growing perception of the pictorial value of chiaroscuro, as well as a faint realisation of the truth that conditions of light change and modify the colours of a landscape, but even Leonardo himself was not entirely liberated from the tyranny of the Florentine ideal. As in Greece, painting in Florence was dominated by sculpture, by a



THE YOUNG DAVID

BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

By PIERO DEL POLLAIUOLO

From a picture in the Collegiata at S. Gimignano

Next in order of merit, inferior to the Turin altarpiece, and exaggerating the defects of the Pollaiuoli, is the Coronation of the Virgin in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano inscribed : PIERO. DEL. POLLAIVOLO. FLORENTINO 1483.¹

It is a picture in which the manipulation seems more toilsome, the types and flesh are more common, the outlines more broken, and the draperies more unsatisfactory than those of any other production of the masters.

Descending still lower in the same scale, we notice the Annunciation in the Berlin Museum,² whose general aspect is that of a piece of tarsia, and which is but a poor representative of the talent of the Pollaiuoli.³

Before concluding with a general list of the Pollaiuoli's works, we may sum up the experience of the foregoing pages in a few words.

The general impression created by their productions of chisel

passion for pure form. And it is not a good thing for one great art to be entirely dominated by another; for if it be so dominated it cannot make the best use of the qualities inherent in the material of its own art. To adopt the homely simile of Dr. Johnson, Florentine art sometimes reminds us of a dog walking upon its hind legs. Such a performance may be surprisingly clever and in its way artistic, but we had rather see a dog running on all its four legs and using all the means of locomotion at its command in the most effective way.

¹ PECORI (*u.s.*, p. 522) says, that this altarpiece was ordered of Piero by Domenico Strambi for his monastery of S. Agostino. But he gives no proofs in support. Ten angels dance or chaunt about the principal group, in front of which, at each side, kneel (right), SS. Gimignano, Jerome and Niccola da Tolentino (left), Fina, Nicholas and Augustine. Some doubts arise as to the genuineness of the inscription.

² No. 73, assigned to Antonio. The figures are nearly life size, the Virgin seated and the angel kneeling before her in a hall whose perspective leaves much to be desired. Outside is a view of the city of Florence. The difficulty of manipulation is very evident in the high surface colour of this work, whose yellow and raw flesh tone is vitreous and shadowed coldly and darkly. The broken outlines of the forms, the angular character of the draperies, the exuberance of ornament, show us the bad side of the invasion made on painting by the art of the goldsmiths. The picture was originally in the collection of Mr. Solly.

³ Far superior, and in the same gallery, is a little David (No. 73A) of monumental aspect, placed as though in a niche. He stands firmly on his feet and is seen full face. But the design of the bare legs is such as we find in the less powerful works of the Pollaiuoli. All the master's strength, however, is to be seen in the uncompromisingly realistic head of Goliath, which is between the feet of David.

or of brush is that they are all consistently stamped with an uniform character. Antonio Pollaiuolo is the true carver and chiseller, and the most talented of the two brothers. But he is also a painter of no mean power, in whose pictures of Herculean combats one may trace the art of a sculptor accustomed to the models of antiquity, and tempering his study of them with a due knowledge of natural forms in their most varied expression. He is a man of excessive boldness in conception and in execution.

The pictorial element, in contradistinction to that of the carver and statuary, is more or less visible in the series which commences with the altarpiece of St. James, at the Uffizi, and ends with that of the Berlin Museum. We may conclude, therefore, that the Hercules and Hydra, and the Hercules crushing Antaeus, are by Antonio and the other works by Piero. Vasari attributes the best creations to the elder, the worst to the younger brother; but an older authority gives to Piero the Virtues now at the Uffizi,¹ the altarpiece of S. Miniato (St. James²) and the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, now in the National Gallery;³ and the judgment of this author is confirmed by the general tenor of Vasari's remarks as regards Piero, whom he describes as a pupil of Andrea del Castagno, and who would appear to us as a mere second- or third-rate painter, or assistant, if he had nothing more to recommend him than the lowest productions of the series which has been reviewed.⁴

¹ *Memoriale, u.s.*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

*⁴ It is very difficult to distinguish between the paintings of Piero and those of Antonio. For the two brothers worked together, and each seems to have assisted the other to carry out the works he was commissioned to execute. The pictures that either bear signatures or are authenticated by documents are stated in these documents and inscriptions to be the work of Piero. Such are the series of the Virtues of the Mercanzia and the Coronation of the Virgin at S. Gimignano. These paintings, though Antonio may have given some assistance in their execution, are probably in the main the work of Piero and reveal the characteristic qualities of his art. The reasonable course to follow, then, is that indicated by Dr. BOND (*Burlington Magazine*, June, 1907, p. 181). To Piero we must give the paintings that have strong stylistic resemblances to the Virtues and the S. Gimignano altarpiece, whilst we can attribute to Antonio only those pictures that whilst they are thoroughly Pollaiuoloque in character, differ from the works of Piero, and are similar in style to the two small panels of the Uffizi, regarding which the indirect documentary evidence is sufficient to create a presumption, if not to establish a proof that they are by Antonio. MAUD CRUTTWELL (*Antonio Pollaiuolo*, Duck-

One picture of much value requires some further remark. It is the St. Sebastian of the Berlin Museum.¹ This is a life-size figure of the martyr tied with his hands behind his back to a branching tree and looking up. A searching study characterises the nude. There is some elegance in the attitude. But the character of the figure is different from that of the Pollaiuoli, and suggests the name of Sandro Botticelli.² We shall have occasion to note a resemblance between this painter and the Pollaiuoli, for instance in a figure of justice forming part of the series executed for the Mercatanzia. It is therefore not improbable that he may be the author of the St. Sebastian at Berlin, which is a figure not painted in the innovating method of the time and less in the style of the Pollaiuoli than the Fortitude by Botticelli, of which we shall have occasion to speak.

The following list may complete the series of works assigned or assignable to the Pollaiuoli :

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 59, assigned to Pollaiuoli (without Christian name), *St. Augustine, No. 60. S. Monica, do.* These are figures painted in the innovating method and in the style of the Pollaiuoli, with some study of nature and of a sculptural character in the draperies.³ There is much realism in the bony grieving face of S. Monica. The flesh tone is horny, the shadows roughly stippled over and high in surface, and the general colour dull.⁴

worth, 1907) has sought to distinguish precisely what pictures and what portions of pictures are by each of the brothers, but the evidence on which she bases her conclusions is in many cases too slight to justify anything like dogmatism. In the same way, Mr. BERENSON's suggestive attempt to define precisely the share of each brother in the works of the Pollaiuoli must be regarded as for the most part the expression of the critic's æsthetic judgment, rather than as a severely scientific analysis of their achievement, the existing materials for such an analysis not being sufficient.

¹ No. 1,128.

*² This picture is now generally regarded as a work of Botticelli. It is possible that Botticelli's S. Sebastiano owes a great deal to a lost St. Sebastian that Pollaiuolo painted for S. Jacopo sopr' Arno. (RICHIA, *Chiese fiorentine*, x., p. 355.)

*³ These two figures are now given to Botticini.

*⁴ A holy nun giving the rules of her order to twelve females, with two angels kneeling between them and the spectator. This is the subject of a panel of a lower class, but still in the style of the Pollaiuoli in the Cappella Capponi at S. Spirito in Florence. Another picture apparently from the atelier of the Pollaiuoli is in the Florence Academy of Arts (No. 125), representing SS. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Tobit in a landscape. It is a piece of a rude and dull colour.

* Both these pictures are now given to Botticini by Berenson. See *podex*, p. 297, note 1.

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani. A bust-portrait, three-quarters, of a beardless aged man with a bold glance, and full of life. His right hand, of coarse build, grasps the side of his red mantle. This is a rare work of the Pollaiuoli, of firm and impetuous design and astonishing realistic truth, the forms being well rendered, in the style of the foregoing figures of SS. Augustine and Monica, but with more power. The colour is low and dull, the verde shadows being stippled over the local tone. The shadows of the dress are high in surface like those of the flesh.

Florence. Collection of the Duca Strozzi. A bust-portrait in profile of a member of the Strozzi family, varying somewhat in character, style, and execution from the foregoing. The face is beardless; the nose aquiline; dress, a red vest and yellow sleeves. This is a tempera piece of a yellowish tone, carefully drawn. It suggests the name of Botticelli.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 30, "Unknown." In the character of the foregoing, a profile bust portrait of a man in a green cap and wearing a golden collar, life-size.¹

Florence. Corsini Gallery. Portrait of a youth with a growing beard. This portrait, assigned to Pollaiuolo, may be mentioned later in the life of Antonello da Messina.

Munich Gallery. No. 999 Cab. Marriage of Poverty to St. Francis: a small unimportant work, of poor execution, and a mixture of the styles noticeable in works of the school of Botticelli and Domenico Ghirlandaio. *No. 1,015, Cab.* SS. Sebastian and George. *No. 1,014, Cab.* A Virgin and Child with a bust of the donor in front. Same style as foregoing. All three in tempera.

Modena Gallery. No. 57. St. Sebastian, a very common picture in the above class.²

*¹ This is the portrait of the Duke Galeazzo Sforza mentioned in the *Inventario Mediceo* of 1510 as from the hand of Piero del Pollainolo. (MÜNTZ, *Les Collections des Médicis*, p. 60.)

*² To the above list of works may be added a few authentic pictures by the Pollaiuoli that have more recently come to light:—

(1) Strassburg Gallery (No. 212A). A fine Madonna and Child, recently published for the first time by Dr. BODE in the *Burlington Magazine* (1907, June, pp. 181, 182). This is a work of Piero Pollaiuolo.

(2) London, Duveen Bros.; formerly in the Hainauer collection. A portrait, by Piero Pollaiuolo.

(3) Staggia, near Siena. The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt. This picture is rightly given by BERENSON to Piero Pollaiuolo (*Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905). Dr. Bode agrees with this attribution.

(4) Arcetri, near Florence, Torre del Gallo. In a room on the ground floor of the villa—which belonged in the Quattrocento to the Lanfredini—were discovered

Vasari states that Piero Pollaiuolo died at Rome in 1498.¹ But we possess the will of Antonio, written in 1496, in which he affectionately alludes to the death of his brother in the following terms: "Item, the testator declares that when his late brother Petrus then still of this world, but infirm and at the hour of death, did freely and of his own accord leave to him, the said testator, certain lands in the territory of Pistoia, commending at the same time to his, the said testator's, care Dona Lisa, natural daughter of the said Peter, &c."²

The death of Antonio in 1498 is proved by a letter of February in that year from the government of Florence to their agent in Rome, alluding to the recent demise of the sculptor and recommending the widow's claims for the recovery of certain sums due from the Cardinals of Benevento and Ascanio.³ The prosperous career of a goldsmith of that age may be inferred from the fact that Antonio's will leaves 5000 ducats of gold to each of his two daughters. His portrait in Filippino's fresco of St. Paul before the Proconsul in the Brancacci chapel may be recognised from Vasari's engraving, and presents to the spectator the appearance of a square-browed, aquiline-featured, resolute person.

A list of works which are no longer to be traced includes :

in 1897 five nude dancing figures about two-thirds the size of life, which recalled, in movement and pattern, the drawings of Antonio Pollaiuolo and especially the engraving of the Battle of the Ten Nudes. The figures were almost immediately covered over again with whitewash. (MARY LOGAN, *Chronique des Arts*, 1897, p. 343 *et seq.*)

On the small bronzes of Antonio Pollaiuolo, BODE (*Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, London, Greveland Co., 1907, Vol. i, pp. 16, 17) may be consulted. Of these special mention may be made of the David in the Naples Museum, and the fine and characteristic Hercules of the Beit Collection, which is now in the Berlin Gallery.

We cannot regard as works of the Pollaiuoli the feeble frescoes of the labours of Hercules in the Palazzo Venezia at Rome, which have been given them by ULMANN (*Die Thaten des Herkules*, 1894). And we can find nothing of Antonio Pollaiuolo in the portrait of the young wife of Giovanni de' Bardi in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, or in the much-restored Portrait of a Lady in the Uffizi, both of which pictures Miss Cruttwell gives to Antonio Pollaiuolo. CRUTTWELL, *Antonio Pollajuolo*, Duckworth, 1907, p. 176, etc. Both these portraits, as we have already stated, we regard as works of Domenico Veneziano.

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 296.

² GUALANDI, *u.s.*, ser. v., pp. 39 and following.

GAYE, *u.s.*, p. 340.

S. Miniato fra le Torri, Florence, a St. Christopher of colossal size.¹ For the "Capitani di Parte," Florence, a half round of the Virgin and Child with a garland of angels, in oil.² For the office "del Proconsolo," at the time situate at the corner of the Via del Proconsolo and Via de' Pandolfini at Florence (note to Vasari, iii., p. 93), a series of portraits,³ S. Marco, Florence, a crucified Saviour and S. Antonino.⁴ Palazzo pubblico, wall paintings (November 1482) executed by Piero in "faciam putei" of that edifice.⁵ Arezzo, Compagnia di S. Angelo, a processional flag with a Crucifixion.⁶ It is proved (*Doc. Sen.*, ii., p. 87) that Antonio did not take part in the Baptismal font of the Duomo of Siena.

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 293; RICHA, *Chiese*, iv., p. 71; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 14. The last-named author assigns the figure to Piero. [* The Anonimo Gaddiano and the Anonimo Magliabecchiano also give this figure to Piero. Some critics regard a fresco of St. Christopher in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, as a work of Piero; and it has been suggested that it may be a reduced version of the lost St. Christopher of S. Miniato. But the picture is not by the Pollaiuoli or of their school. As we pointed out some time ago, it is an early Umbrian picture. Although large and superficially impressive, the figure is lacking in strength and vitality. The master who painted it had but little sense of form. The child is of a distinctly Umbrian type; and the type of the infant, the landscape, and the colour scheme of the picture recall Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. For the contrary opinion see RANKIN, in the *Rassegna d'Arte*, March, 1908.]

² VASARI, iii., p. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 293, and ALBERTINI, u.s., *Mem.*, p. 12.

* This is undoubtedly the picture by Baldovinetti to which we have already referred. (See *antea*, p. 214, note 2.)

⁵ VASARI, iii., p. 293; GAYE, u.s., i., p. 578.

⁶ VASARI, iii., p. 295.

CHAPTER XI

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

WE have marked the Pollaiuoli as the exponents of a new fashion in the art of Florence in the fifteenth century. We have noted Andrea del Verrocchio amongst those who form part of the talented group which comprises Antonio, Piero, Botticelli, and even Domenico Ghirlandaio. The natural order of the narrative leads us to describe the share which Verrocchio took in the development of the artistic period which he illustrates.

He was born in 1432,¹ of Domenico di Michele de' Cioni.² He kept a goldsmith's shop like that of his comrade Antonio Pollaiuolo, and history preserves the following distinct marks of his artistic activity:—

1471 (new style).³ He founds the plate for the ball above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore at Florence.⁴

1472 (n.s.). He completes the funeral monument of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

1473 (n.s.). He values the pulpit of Mino da Fiesole and Antonio Rossellino at Prato.

1474 (n.s.). He gives the model for a monument to Cardinal Forteguerri at Pistoia,⁵ and founds the bronze bell adorned with bas-reliefs of the abbey of Montescalari.⁶

*¹ He was born in 1435, and was the son of Francesco di Michele de' Cioni, MILANESI in VASARI, iii, p. 358.

*² His birth is only inferred. Vasari says he died aged fifty-six and his death occurred in 1488. His father's name was copied from the inscription on the tomb in S. Ambrogio at Florence.

*³ The date is 1468-71.

*⁴ Before this, in 1461, he had made a design for an "Edicola" in the Duomo of Orvieto.

*⁵ It was in 1477, not in 1474, that Verrocchio was given the commission to execute the monument of Cardinal Forteguerri. He finished it in 1483.

*⁶ It was in 1477-80 that he executed this work.

1476 (n.s.). Executes the bronze of the youthful David now at the Museo Nazionale.

1477 (n.s. circa).¹ Carves two of the compartments of the dossale or altar-table of the Florence baptistery in company with Antonio Pollaiuolo.²

1478-79. 1480. He produces a candelabra with reliefs and ornaments for the audience-hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence.

1471-84 (n.s.). He completes certain apostles for the chapel of Sixtus the Fourth in the Vatican.

1483.³ He finishes the bronze of St. Thomas searching the wound of Christ in a niche at Orsanmichele of Florence.

1488. He dies at Venice, after having furnished the model of the monument voted to Bartolommeo Colleoni.⁴

Vasari seems desirous of insinuating that Verrocchio was self-taught. Baldinucci refers his readers to a rare manuscript to prove that Verrocchio was a pupil of Donatello.⁵ His style may have been affected by that of Donatello, in whose company he worked at S. Lorenzo of Florence;⁶ and he may have issued from the same school as Antonio Pollaiuolo, in friendly rivalry with whom he chiselled two⁷ of the reliefs of the altar-table of S. Giovanni at Florence. The solitary example of his pictorial style which we possess proves an acquaintance with the technical innovations and types of the Pollaiuoli, with Fra Filippo, Andrea del Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano. Of a more noble artistic fibre than the second, he partakes more surely of the nature of the third. "He was a goldsmith, a master of perspective, a

*¹ After this year he executed the tomb of Francesca Tornabuoni, of which two reliefs are at the Bargello, and four virtues in Madame André's collection in Paris.

*² Only one of the reliefs is by Verrocchio, the others having been entrusted to A. Pollaiuolo, Antonio di Salvi and Bernardo Cenni. See *antea*, p. 221.

*³ It was in 1480 that Verrocchio finished the bronze of St. Thomas and Christ.

*⁴ These facts and dates are all well known, and may be proved on reference to GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 367 and fol. 569, 570, 5; VASARI, iii., p. 357 and fol., with the notes of the commentators.

*⁵ VASARI, iii., p. 358; BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, v., p. 422. DEL MIGLIORE's statement, for which he does not give sufficient authority, is that Verrocchio was apprentice to Giuliano Verrocchi, a Florentine goldsmith. *Vide* excerpt in VASARI, iii., p. 357.

*⁶ "In Firenze, nella sagrestia di S. Lorenzo, un lavamani di marmo, nel quale lavoro parimente Andrea Verrocchio" (VASARI, ii., p. 414).

*⁷ He executed but one.

sculptor and carver, a painter, and a musician.”¹ His sculpture is mostly bronze, and in that metal unrivalled, as we see in the Colleoni monument. His knowledge of drawing, perspective, form, motion, and anatomy is profound, placing him above the Pollaiuoli, and on a level not much below that of Da Vinci. In judging his remains it is necessary to examine and to keep in mind not only the creations of a contemporary or bygone time, but those of a subsequent period; and the productions of Leonardo, as well as those of Lorenzo di Credi, teach us to appreciate at their just value the attainments of their master. It is characteristic and illustrative of this fact that the drawings of Verrocchio, of Leonardo, and even in some cases of Lorenzo di Credi, are so alike as to be difficult to distinguish; and the difference which appears on analysis seems only to arise from the stamp on some of them of a master genius and superior skill. Their style, which is original in Verrocchio, is the same. They all define form with extraordinary precision and finish, whilst their lights, shadows, and reflections possess the silvery clearness and polish natural to a carver in metal. A splendid profile of a horse in the collection of drawings of the Louvre, sketched with point on prepared paper and shadowed with light bistre on the edge of the outline, may afford an appropriate illustration. It rests three legs on pillars, recalls the bronzes on the *façade* of St. Mark at Venice, and is properly assigned to Verrocchio, as it seems a study for the Colleoni monument.² But the style and the technical skill fitly represent the genius of Leonardo, and the drawing might be assigned to him without diminishing his fame. The drawings of this and other collections, but chiefly the most complete series brought together by Mr. Reiset, and now in the hands of H.R.H. the Duke d’Aumale,³ offer the same peculiarity,

¹ iii., p. 357.

² This drawing at the Louvre belongs to a series of drawings scattered throughout various collections which formed together the so-called sketch-book of Verrocchio. This book, since the time of Morelli, has been generally regarded as from the hand of a follower of Verrocchio, a follower who may, perhaps, be identified with Francesco di Simone. See GRONAU’s study of this sketch-book in the *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.* 1896, pp. 65-72. The existing drawings of Verrocchio are only three or four in number, and are to be found at the Louvre, the British Museum, the Uffizi, and the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin.

³ Now in the Chantilly Museum.

and leave us in doubt whether we are looking at works of Verrocchio, Leonardo, or Lorenzo di Credi. The forms of infants are remarkably characteristic. Their prototype is in the beautiful bronze, originally cast and chiselled for a fountain in the gardens of the Medici's villa at Careggi, and transferred later to the court of the old Palazzo at Florence. A boy holds a struggling dolphin under his arm, and the pressure seems to produce the fall of water from the fish's nostrils. "Nothing," says Rumohr, in his happiest vein, "can be gayer or more lively than the expression and action of this infant, and no modern bronze can be named that combines such beautiful treatment with such perfect style. It is of a half-flying, half-running motion, the varied action of which is still true to the centre of gravity. With a happy feeling the artist has given to the child a pleasing fulness of rounding, and to the wings a certain angular sharpness."¹

The drawings of children, to which attention is now directed, produce the same impression as this bronze and offer to the eye the perfection of the same type. This is natural, when we consider that the principles on which both are produced are the same; but the pleasing fulness which Rumohr notes is carried to an exaggerated measure in the children of Lorenzo di Credi. He is not content with plumpness; he introduces pinguity, the fat protrusions of parts being awkwardly apparent at the joints, which they reduce to lines compressing the flesh and forcing it to bulge. The study of nature's realism at the same time affects the choice of forms, and short-necked, thin-chested, large-limbed infants assume an action proper to an over-fat condition.² But this was Lorenzo di Credi's favourite system of line, and he draws in successions of curves not only the flesh of the limbs and body, but the component parts of eyes and mouths, checking or stopping them with marked points at the necessary places.

These peculiar characteristics of Lorenzo di Credi may be

¹ RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii, p. 304. He adds, and the remark is still true: "This model piece was lately deprived by cleaners of its beautiful 'patina,' the effect of time; and the result has been the creation of hardnesses which the spectator must not attribute to the artist, but to the barbarism of our day."

² The elbows, for instance, are necessarily thrown out.

noticed in a minor degree in some of the bronzes of Verrocchio, but are least visible in the David of the Uffizi.¹

Verrocchio's idea of the shepherd champion is that of a young man whose forms have not attained the full development of manhood, elastic and nimble in motion, and built on a promising scantling, but still lean and bony, as may be seen in the narrow thorax and the long slender extremities. The attitude is free, the left leg at ease, the left hand on the haunch. The right wields the sword which has just despatched the head that lies at David's feet. A hip-cloth and greaves, the only articles of dress, scantily cover forms worked out with great knowledge of nature and anatomy. The bare head with its copious locks is a little aged, in type like those which Leonardo prized and transmitted to the Lombard school of the Luini. The figure in its totality combines the adolescent character of Michael Angelo's David, with an attitude conceived according to the laws of modern art embodied in Leonardo's treatises. Less grand than that of Donatello, which is reminiscent of the old Greek, it is a truer imitation of nature and livelier in action.

The Incredulity of St. Thomas at Orsanmichele gives occasion for a fuller development of flesh parts. St. Thomas, in motion and probing the wound, is youthful and plump, but the fulness exaggerated by Lorenzo di Credi is already marked. The figure is surprising for the advance in art which it proclaims and the motion which it renders. The Redeemer raises his right arm and uncovers his side. The figure has some of the rigidity of bronze. The type is somewhat aged and pinched in the features, the flesh sparingly covering the skeleton of bone in the frame; but this is a peculiarity of Verrocchio in painting as in bronze, apparent in the Baptism of the Academy of Arts at Florence and in Leonardo. Some coarseness and puffiness in the extremities are also to be noticed, but the group in its totality is a fine and beautifully polished bronze. The most remarkable point in the work is the involved nature of the drapery. It is no longer broken like that of the Pollaiuoli, but betrays the effort to obtain round and sweeping lines, combined with a method of

¹ Museo Nazionale del Bargello, No. 22. Three-quarter life-size. *Vide* VASARI, iii, pp. 365, 366; GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 572.

closing the puff of the cloth above the eye of the fold. Searching detail sacrifices the planes of the flesh.¹ The stuffs have the appearance of being lined, or double like those of Lorenzo di Credi; and the drapery gains a material form similar to that which characterises the Umbrians, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino, and even Pinturicchio. The reader must pardon this minuteness of criticism. It helps us to test the value of Vasari's assertion that Verrocchio was one of the masters of Pietro Perugino, and enables us to admit that he may in this point be correct.² Had we not material proof that Lorenzo di Credi was Verrocchio's pupil, we should guess the fact from the analysis of the bronze of Orsanmichele; and it is possible that Lorenzo, who was twenty-four years of age when the work was completed, may have been assistant to the master at that time.

Leonardo da Vinci was influenced by better models such as the David, and started from ground of greater vantage than Lorenzo di Credi. He followed a progressive path in which Lorenzo remained stationary; and so the two pupils of Verrocchio parted on the road of art.

The last plastic creation of Verrocchio is the equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice, which remained incomplete at the sculptor's death and which Lorenzo di Credi would have finished had the dying wish of his master been attended to. It is the masterpiece of its time, and affords us full compensation for the loss of those of Leonardo, whose talent for reproducing form, action, anatomy, and the life of the horse it explains.

The creations of the master and of the pupils indeed combine to elucidate their several careers; and Leonardo's pictures help us to judge of Verrocchio's talent as a painter, in the absence of more than one certain example by the latter. It is obvious that Verrocchio's atelier could not sensibly differ from that of other men of his class and period. He devoted his time

¹ The embroideries in the mantles are chiselled with all the finish peculiar to bronze.

² This is clear, since we find a point of contact between Verrocchio, Perugino, and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Perugino is proved to have been in Florence in 1482, at which time Lorenzo di Credi was 23-4 years of age. The school of Verrocchio and that of Perugino may have had a connection together through Lorenzo, the latter and Perugino having a common tenderness and calm in their artistic nature.

perhaps more exclusively to the duties of the sculptor and carver than to those of the painter; but his shop was like that of the Pollaiuoli, and we cannot conceive a man of his genius and varied accomplishments to have been less talented or less practised in one branch than in the other. The solitary picture which he has left behind¹ is not of interest only as showing what methods were in use in his *bottega*, what the tendency of his school might be, it is of value in many other ways. It introduces us to the youth of Leonardo da Vinci, who is declared with all probability to have laboured there.² It not only characterises the style of Verrocchio, but it foreshadows and embodies the principles which are developed in the Virgin of the Rocks and which find their perfection in the Mona Lisa. It reveals finally that Verrocchio had the same character, and employed the same technical processes in painting, as the Pollaiuoli, in so far as the variety of their respective natures allowed him. The contrast between men who enjoyed a well-earned reputation as contemporaries was neither curious nor unfrequent. A rough but powerful fibre, a vigour and energy which class the Pollaiuoli amongst the prototypes of Michael Angelo and Signorelli, were tempered in Verrocchio by the gifts of a higher nature. If Verrocchio's design strikes us as still realistic and searching, it is cleaner and more exquisitely perfected. If in bronze statuary he does not lose rigidity, his mind conceives and creates something animated by the greater and more universal laws inherent in sculpture. If his landscape varies little in style from that of the Pollaiuoli, if his technical mode of painting resembles theirs, the impression in the first place is greater, because he strives for more lightness and vapour; in the second, because, in spite of difficulty in manipulating the high surface colour, the result is less hard and less incomplete. Verrocchio's is a higher nature enriched by a

¹ He painted in S. Domenico of Florence a picture which has since disappeared. It is difficult to say whether it was the same which is engraved under his name in the *Etruria Pittrice*, for that also is not now to be traced. But see VASARI, iii., p. 366. * The painting for S. Domenico is now in the Budapest Gallery, No. 1386. It is a Madonna and Child with Saints. CAVALCASELLE and CROWZ, in the Italian edition of this work, vi., p. 186, state that only the composition is by the master, and that the picture was executed by an assistant.

² VASARI, iii., p. 366.

more educated and general taste than that of the Pollaiuoli. His Baptism of Christ,¹ unfinished and injured though it be, offers to us a picture of calm and composure, of reverent and tender worship, which carries with it a special charm. The resigned consciousness of the Saviour receiving the water which St. John pours on his head—the questioning tender air of the two beautiful angels who wait on the bank of the brook to minister to the Redeemer's wants—the brook itself running in its bed of pebbles round a projection of rock crowned with trees from a distance of lake and hills—the palm tree with the bird flying into it—the mixture of the mysteries of solitude and worship are all calculated to affect the senses.²

Descending to a more critical analysis, we find the type of the Saviour not absolutely select, somewhat imperfect in proportion and form, but a bony, searching study of anatomical reality. The Baptist is unfinished.³ He presents to us the stiff action and some of the vulgarity of a model. The curly-headed angel presenting his front face to the spectator is beautiful. His chiselled features, shadowed in light greenish grey over the bright local tone, are fair to look upon;⁴ but he is surpassed in beauty and feeling by his fellow-angel, whose back is towards the beholder, whilst his head, gently bent and looking up to the Saviour, presents the rounded lines of brow, cheek, and mouth, which illustrate the application of a law in rendering movement familiar to the great painters of the sixteenth century.⁵ So fresh and innocent, so tender and loving is this angel, it strikes us as the finest ever produced in the manner of Verrocchio. The soft gaiety and grace in the play of the exquisite features,

¹ Executed for the brethren of Vallombrosa at S. Salvi (VASARI, iii., p. 366); now in Academy of Arts at Florence, No. 71.

* ² Free copies of the Baptism of Verrocchio are the fresco S. Andrea a Brozzi (near Florence), attributed by the authors to Botticini (see the Italian edition of this work, vii., p. 123), and the altarpiece of Lorenzo di Credi at S. Domenico of Fiesole.

³ The flesh, particularly of the arms, is only prepared, the veins and muscles being already defined. The head is nearer completion than the rest. The red drapery is prepared with lake and shadowed with the same, the high lights being the ground of the table.

⁴ He wears a blue tunic. His hands are bony and thin.

⁵ This law is illustrated by Leonardo.



THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

By A. VERROCCHIO

From a picture in the Galleria Antica e Moderna, Florence

the pure silvery outlines, the modelling of the parts, of the hair and lashes, the chaste ornaments which deck the collar of the bright green tunic damasked in brown at the sleeves, the edges of the lucid blue mantle¹ and the dress which is held ready for the Saviour: this all combines to form a total revealing the finish, the study, conspicuous in Leonardo. In type and in the expression of tender feeling the face and forms of this figure are equal to those of the Virgin of the Rocks, whilst the draperies by their broken nature, the colour by its impasto, recall the same example. The force of chiaroscuro alone is not so great; but everything confirms the statement of Vasari that Leonardo helped Verrocchio to paint the picture.

Da Vinci must undoubtedly have produced some fine and interesting pieces previous to the creation of the great ones which brought him fame. The angel in the Baptism combines the principles of Verrocchio's style with the laws of the art of the sixteenth century, the freshness of a youthful effort with its natural minuteness and carefulness of finish. It is the work of a budding genius comparable to Raphael at the school of Perugino, an outpouring from which we may trace the origin of Da Vinci's manner and the success of the pictures which he afterwards produced. Leonardo declares that the choice of form and the mode of rendering it should be such as to please less at first sight than on lengthened examination. The proof that he assimilated the painter's work to that of the bronze carver is in this angel of the Baptism, which reveals the germ of Leonardo's greatness as a searcher of the laws by which rotundity is produced with the aid of light and shade, and betrays his want of feeling for colour.

Technically considered with reference to methods of painting, the Baptism illustrates the general remarks made at the outset of this chapter. The colour, laid on with the impasto and high surface of that of the Pollaiuoli, is softer. Its manipulation is still difficult, because the medium has not yet been improved to complete absence of viscosity. Reflections are carefully introduced between the shadow and its outline. The reddish lights are sharp and dry. The lips have high contours and are touched

¹ The blue mantle is lined with yellow.

with streaks at the highest parts, and the same principle is carried out in the articulations of the flesh parts generally.

Having now defined in a certain measure the various styles of Verrocchio, Leonardo, and Lorenzo di Credi, we may pass to the examination of certain pictures assigned to the master whose life is the more special object of this study.

A round of the Virgin holding on her knee the infant Saviour, who caresses the infant St. John, in the museum of Berlin,¹ displays the manner of Credi rather than of Verrocchio, chiefly in the system of colour and its finish, in the exaggerated forms of the child and in the style of draperies. The picture recalls that period in Credi when he had just left his master's atelier, but conceding even this, the colour and execution are below his usual level. Of the same class, and undoubtedly by the same hand, is a round in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg representing the Virgin with the Infant Christ on her knee, attended by the young Baptist, between two angels playing instruments. The colour is almost as sombre, the drapery as faulty, as at Berlin, but the masks and attitudes, as well as the handling, tell of a more advanced, or rather a more modern, practice.²

In the collection of Herr von Lazarew at St. Petersburg is a round assigned to Verrocchio, with the Virgin adoring the Infant Christ in the foreground and SS. Jerome and Francis receiving the stigmata in the landscape distance.³ It must be placed in the same category as that of the Hermitage. A third example is the Virgin and Child with the young Baptist and two angels, in the collection of the Duke of Westminster.⁴ These are examples of an art akin to that of Credi as he issued from Verrocchio's atelier, of an art which may not be Credi's, but which is certainly that of a disciple of Verrocchio.

A Virgin and Child with the infant St. John, in the Dresden Gallery, is assigned to Leonardo and bears the same character as

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 104 A, wood, oil, 2 feet 6 inches in diameter.

² St. Petersburg, Hermitage, No. 1, wood transferred to canvas, 4 feet 1 inch Rhenish in diameter. The Virgin full length, the Baptist ascending the steps of the throne, behind a screen level with the seat of the throne sky, and in the foreground flowers.

³ Wood. Figures under half life-size.

⁴ Round, wood.



MADONNA AND CHILD

By A. VERROCCIO

From a picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

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the rounds at St. Petersburg and London, but is very like a genuine Credi of the early period.¹

A picture of Tobit and the three Archangels, in the Munich Gallery,² assigned to Verrocchio, may be classed amongst the works of some feeble pupil of Filippino Lippi or Botticelli. A Virgin and Child, in the same collection,³ reminds us of a poor copy from Lorenzo di Credi.

There are other pictures which claim attention at this place, pictures usually classed under the name of Pesello or Pesellino, and giving occasion to conflicting judgments. Some critics, as we have said in the lives of the Peselli, are inclined to suggest the Pollaiuoli as the probable authors. It is of interest to study these works, bearing in mind what has been said of the manner of those painters and of the variety which it presents when compared with that of Verrocchio.

A Virgin, holding before her the naked Infant, erect and flying a bird with a string, belongs to the collection of Mr. Barker in London,⁴ and is fairly assigned by him to the Pollaiuoli.⁵ The Virgin exhibits the thin long shape, the broad forehead, and the pointed and scooped chin, the curvilinear system of rendering flesh, peculiar to the school of Verrocchio. The nude of the Child is in the bulging forms already described in this chapter, and is rudely executed. The colour is softer than that of the Pollaiuoli and seems a medium between theirs and Verrocchio's.

The Virgin, holding the naked Infant erect on a balustrade, is a better picture under the name of Pesello in the Berlin Museum.⁶

¹ Dresden Gallery, No. 13, from the Woodburn collection, wood, 1 foot 8½ inches high by 1 foot 3 inches. * In the catalogue of Woermann (1908) it is given to Lorenzo di Credi.

² No. 1016, wood, 4 feet 8 inches high by 5 feet 11 inches. * In the catalogue of 1904 it is given to the bottega of Piero di Cosimo, and the attribution seems to be correct. ³ No. 1018, wood round, 2 feet 3 inches in diameter.

⁴ * This picture passed from Mr. Barker's collection into the possession of Signor Castellani in Rome. The present proprietor is not known.

⁵ A curtain at each side is fastened back as it were to open out the scene, and the distance is a landscape.

⁶ Berlin Museum. No. 103, 2 feet 4 inches high by 1 foot 5 inches, from the Solly collection. The Virgin has but little shoulders. Her green mantle is angular in fold, with a collar about the neck. Her tunic is red, the hand small and thin. The distance is a landscape. * It is now assigned to the "manner of Verrocchio."

The type and character of the figures are similar to those of Mr. Barker's picture, but the colour has more impasto, is more lucid and fused, and the piece has much of the finish noticeable in the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio.

Another picture of the same general character is the Virgin, holding the Infant erect on a balustrade, with his feet on a cushion in the Stadel Gallery at Frankfort, where it is attributed to Pesello.¹ The type of the Child reminds one of that in the designs of Verrocchio and his school, and even of the bronze of the boy struggling with the dolphin. That of the Virgin displays the same principles. The outline is very precise and the colour spare so as to show the underground through it.²

Superior to the foregoing and one of the fine productions of the Florentine school of this time is the Virgin adoring the Infant, which lies naked on her lap between two angels, a picture in the National Gallery.³ The artist's manner is akin to that which we find in the Baptism of Verrocchio. The stature and contours of the Virgin, the outlines of the head and hands are more like those of Verrocchio than those of the Pollaiuoli. If we should be required to describe an Infant by Lorenzo di Credi, we could not do so more appropriately than by sketching out this of the National Gallery, an infant whose excessive plumpness of flesh, absence of neck, and ponderosity of head are an exaggeration of those in the sketches of Verrocchio and Leonardo. The angel to the right reminds us of that of Verrocchio. The angel to the left, with his upturned and sentimentally bent head, is fore-

*¹ In the present catalogue it is given to the school of Verrocchio.

² No. 9, Stadel Gallery, wood, 2 feet 7 inches high by 1 foot 11·9 inches. The Infant holds a veil about his middle with his left hand. His right gives the blessing. The Virgin's mantle is blue with angular folds like those of Verrocchio and Leonardo; a brooch fastens his dress. Her tunic is red with gold borders. Background: an interior and a landscape seen through a window.

³ No. 296, wood, 3 feet 2 inches high by 2 feet 3½ inches, National Gallery. Assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, and considered by some to have been painted by Piero della Francesca. A note to the Catalogue suggests that it may be a tempera by Antonio Pollaiuolo. * In the last catalogue it is simply assigned to the Florentine school. But the Verrocchiesque characteristics of this picture are clear enough, and, as Bode has pointed out, a design of Verrocchio in the Uffizi for a head of an angel has been followed in this picture. BODE, *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1882, p. 247.

shortened as Lorenzo di Credi might have done. The hand, though bony and slender, is designed with much finesse. The drawing of the forms generally could not have been carried out with more care or minuteness. The ornamentation exhibits the richness of that of the goldsmiths. The draperies of the angels especially are like those of Lorenzo, whilst the cleanness and pureness of the gay colours and their polish indicate again the manner of Credi. The style in fact is such a one as, starting from that of the bronze of St. Thomas at Orsanmichele, becomes developed in the pictures of Verrocchio's pupil.

Though an art of the same kind may be noticed in Verrocchio and the Pollaiuoli, a variety is clearly noticeable in their mode of thought. The Virgin of the National Gallery has less of the nature and feeling of the Pollaiuoli than of Verrocchio and Lorenzo di Credi. It is not impossible, therefore, that the panel of the National Gallery should have been executed by Credi in the atelier of Verrocchio.¹ This and the other works of the same class previously noticed are painted in tempera, a system in

*¹ No work demonstrates so clearly the union of master and pupil as the picture ascribed to Lorenzo which is in the Cappella del Sacramento in the Duomo at Pistoia—a Madonna and Child with St. John Baptist and S. Zeno. Morelli held that Verrocchio had a share in the execution of this landscape. (MORELLI, *Kunst-Kritische Studien*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 37.) And a document published by A. CHITI (in the *Bullettino Stor. Pist.*, 1899, fasc. 2, pp. 47, 48) has established this theory. In this document, dated 1485, it is stated that Verrocchio received a commission to paint this picture, as a legacy of the bishop Donato Medici, for sixty gold florins. It remained for about six years in the bottega of the artist because the artist had not received the stipulated payment. It is clear, then, that the picture was finished about 1479, from the design of Verrocchio and under his supervision, by his pupil Lorenzo di Credi, by whom there exists in the Louvre a sketch for the S. Giovanni. No doubt, several other works of Verrocchio had a similar origin, such as the Madonna and Child with two saints in the Naples Museum. (See BODE, *Verrocchio u. das Altarbild der Sacrament Kapelle zu Pistoia*, in *Report. f. Kunst.*, 1899, p. 392.) No doubt the famous Annunciation of the Uffizi (No. 3450) was also executed in the same way in the bottega of Verrocchio, though in this case the pupil who participated in the work was Leonardo da Vinci. The type of the angel recalls that of the Baptism of the Academy and is an expression of that part of Leonardo's complex artistic personality that especially appealed, in later years, to one of his most distinguished followers, Boltraffio. Moreover, a study for one of the arms of the angel is among the drawings that are certainly by Leonardo at Oxford. The little Annunciation of the Louvre, too, may be regarded as a free repetition of that of the Uffizi.

which the extant productions of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio are not executed. Still they embody the features of Verrocchio's school, and this to a greater extent than those peculiar to the school of the Pollaiuoli.¹

A profile portrait (bust) of a lady in a gold head-dress, successively in the galleries of Miss Rogers and Mr. Bromley, assigned at one time to Verrocchio, and later to Pollaiuolo, is stamped with the character of Filippino Lippi's style, and is, we believe, a fine work of the youth of Raffaellino del Garbo.²

A round of the Holy Family, attributed to Verrocchio, at the University Gallery of Oxford, is a defective production of the time of Girolamo del Pacchia.³

¹ London, Baring collection. The Virgin holds the child erect on a chequered carpet lying on a balustrade. Distance: landscape and sky, the latter cut off at the upper left corner by a green curtain. This small panel, called an Andrea Verrocchio, is by Andrea Solario.

² The long hair is adorned with a veil and pearls. On one side is a scutcheon. The picture was knocked down at Mr. Bromley's sale to Mr. Martin for 230 guineas, but seems afterwards to have passed into the hands of Mr. Barker. * This is perhaps the portrait of a woman in profile, assigned to Raffaellino, which is in Baron Edmond de Rothschild's collection in Paris.

*³ Some pictures which have borne up to the present the attributions "manner of Verrocchio," "manner of Pollaiuolo" are given by Ricci to Battista Uti, a Faentine imitator of Florentine artists and especially of Verrocchio. The picture on which Ricci bases his theory is an altarpiece in the Pinacoteca at Faenza, ascribed to Uti. This attribution, however, is by no means certain. But supposing it to be justifiable the following pictures may also be given to Uti: A tondo of the Madonna and Child in the possession of Dr. Ugolino Beccarini-Crescenzi in Siena, a Madonna and Child in the possession of Prof. Emilio Costantini in Florence, a Madonna and Child in the Accademia di Belle Arti at Ravenna, a Madonna and Child and two saints in the new Pinacoteca Vaticana, and the best of the group, a Madonna and Child with St. Francis, St. Mary Magdalen, and, above the Virgin, the Eternal in benediction between two angels, which is in S. Francesco of S. Casciano in Val di Pesa.

CHAPTER XII

SANDRO BOTTICELLI

AMONGST the spectators of the Martyrdom of St. Peter painted by Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci chapel, one on the right is a sullen and sensual-looking man in profile, remarkable for the salience of his nose, the deep set of his eye, the heaviness of his under-jaw, and the size of his mouth. A purple cap covers his long locks, a red mantle envelops his form, and his legs are encased in green hose. This, according to Vasari, is the portrait of Sandro Botticelli, the contemporary of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Benozzo, Verrocchio, and Pietro Perugino, an artist who, at various periods of his career, combined the semi-religious, semi-fanciful feeling of Fra Filippo and the more realistic character of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, and a vehement and passionate manner of his own, in which he united power to fantastic exuberance of thought.

He was born in 1446,¹ the youngest son of Mariano Filipepi of Florence, who apprenticed him to a goldsmith,² but he did not long remain in that business, for which he had less fancy than for painting; and after a time he studied design under Fra Filippo. No master of the fifteenth century illustrates better than Botticelli the various changes which the art of the time had successfully undergone. Coming into the world when Angelico

*¹ Botticelli was born in 1444.

² GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., pp. 343-4; VASARI, iii., p. 310. But the latest research proves that Botticelli was born in 1446; and the following is his descent as extracted by Dr. Gaetano Milanese: Amedeo begets Vanni; Vanni begets Jacopo, Amedeo, and Mariano; Mariano (b. 1393) begets Giovanni (b. 1427), Antonio (b. 1433), Simone (b. 1443), Alexander (b. 1446).

* The date of 1446-7 is founded on the Portate al Catasto of 1480; but the earlier Portate al Catasto of 1457 and 1446 prove that the date is 1444. (See J. MESNIL, in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1903, p. 87.)

tottered on the brink of the grave, he saw Fra Filippo modify the purely religious feeling peculiar to the convent, and exhaust the practice of wall tempera. He was in a position to profit by the varying success or failure of men whose efforts were directed towards innovation in the use of mediums and vehicles. He enjoyed the fruits gathered with labour by students of perspective; and felt the influence of those who combined the experience of plastic and pictorial science. We can understand the honour in which he was held, when we hear Vasari say¹ that he was the best master in Florence, at the death of Fra Filippo; and we can conceive that such an opinion should have been held when Domenico Ghirlandaio had not as yet risen to the full expanse of his power. In 1480, Botticelli painted a St. Augustine in fresco at Ognissanti, in which he showed vigour of conception and boldness of hand. But his skill was marred by coarseness akin to that of Andrea del Castagno. Domenico Ghirlandaio competed with him in a figure of St. Jerome, which seemed cold and somewhat motionless in contrast, but which was more noble and dignified. Vasari, who could appreciate technical skill, might for that reason prefer the work of Botticelli to that of his rival, but we look in vain for the deep expression of thought and subtlety which the biographer discovers and praises.²

Botticelli was just past the age of twenty-three when Fra Filippo died.³ We may assign to the immediately succeeding time some circular pictures bearing the impress of the friar's influence, in conception and spirit, in character and action. Still fresh from reminiscences of the Carmelite's manner, himself in an age in which feeling, if it exists at all, finds its way to the outer surfaces, he conceived Madonnas full of a naïve tenderness. He supplied the lack of religious resignation and the absence of select types by affectionate maternity and silent melancholy in the face of the mother of Christ, and an eager service in childlike saints and angels. Thus in a round at the Uffizi,⁴ in which he imitates the style of arrangement, the mode of drapery carried

¹ ii., p. 629. ² VASARI, iii., p. 311; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 14.

³ He died, as has been seen, in 1469.

⁴ As Botticelli was born in 1444 he was twenty-five when Fra Filippo died.

⁵ No. 1267 bis., wood, life-size.



MAIDEN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

By BOTTICELLI

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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out before by Fra Filippo, and already reminiscent in him of reliefs by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano, he places the Virgin on a seat, with the Infant on her knee, but intent on some holy thought about to be consigned to a book held up before her by angels. She dips a pen in the ink-bottle. A diadem is held up above her head; and through the centre of the group we see a distance of hill and vale.¹ In a round at the Louvre,² reproducing the same subject with a slight variation, Botticelli³ also interests us, and causes fibres to vibrate which often remain unmoved before the colder creations of the great Ghirlandai. This phase of his talent clearly received a wide support from the patrons of Florentine art; but the number of pictures embodying the same or kindred subjects produced in his shop must have created a surfeit at last, because they soon ceased to possess the freshness or exhibit the care which were conspicuous in the earliest and best of them. Botticelli's position as a painter in Florence, ten years after Fra Filippo's death, may be appreciated by a fact which has but recently become known. After the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478), the murder of Julian de' Medici, the marvellous escape of Lorenzo, and the complete revenge taken upon all who had shared in the treason, Botticelli was ordered to paint the effigies of the traitors Pazzi on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico.⁴

*¹ The picture in which Botticelli shows most clearly the influence of Fra Filippo and therefore one of his earliest works is the Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery (No. 592), formerly in the Lombardi Baldi collection, which, from the time of Morelli, has ceased to be regarded by critics as a work of Filippino, but which still bears his name at the National Gallery. The Magnificat of the Louvre is of a much later date, though we hold with Horne that it was painted before his departure for Rome in 1481. See HORNE, *Botticelli*. London, Bell, 1908, p. 122.

*² No. 1295, wood, tempera, m. 1'14 in diam. One angel holds the crown above the Virgin's head.

*³ The tondo of the Louvre is only a school work, and is inferior to the tondo of the Casa Alessandri at Florence, which is another school copy, and is a similar variant of the Magnificat.

*⁴ July 21, 1478. "Item servatis, &c., deliberaverunt et stantiverunt Sandro Botticelli pro ejus labore in pingendo proditores flor. quadraginta largos." *Arch. Cent. di Stato di Firenze in Gior. Stor. degli Arch. Toscani*, anno vi., 1862, note to p. 5. * In 1494, after the flight of Piero and Lorenzo de' Medici, the frescoes were destroyed.

Sandro had perhaps already modified his manner at this time, and caught the impulse given to Florentine art by the goldsmith painters, the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio. This impulse, without depriving him of the characteristic features derived from the teaching of Fra Filippo, varied them in a certain measure, taught him to control the vehemence of his hand and the vagaries of his fancy, to devote more thought to the distribution of his subject or the grouping and action of his figures, and to simplify and improve his drawing. It caused him to abandon some exaggerations of costume and ornament, and to improve his technical execution by the use of tones more bright and transparent, by colours more harmonious, better fused, and of more pastose texture. We may consider him to have completed under this favourable influence the figure of Fortitude¹ in the series of Virtues, of which the greater part had already been furnished to the Mercatanzia by the Pollaiuoli. Botticelli's, which has followed the rest of the Virtues to the Uffizi, combines his style with the technical methods, the architectural and ornamental accessories of theirs; and it shares their energy of movement, vulgarity of type, and coarseness of extremities or articulations.² Less so an allegory

*¹ The last payment was made on August 18, 1470. (See MESNIL, in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1903, p. 46.)

*² No. 1,299. Uffizi, wood, life-size. The figure is that of a female enthroned under a niche. She wears a winged helmet adorned with pearls, and wields a club. The embroideries, the parti-coloured marbles are the same as in the Virtues of the Pollaiuoli, and it would seem as if Botticelli tried to keep to the model of the figures already executed before his. This piece is noticed by VASARI, iii, p. 310, and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, v.s., p. 16.

* To this Pollaiuolesque period belong also two other pictures at the Uffizi of the story of Judith and Holofernes, which the authors refer to below, as well as the St. Sebastian of Berlin, painted in 1473, to which reference has already been made in the account of the Pollaiuoli, and the Madonna of Prince Chigi now in Mrs. Gardner's collection. Mr. Horne would add to this group the small portrait in the Uffizi (No. 1154) once said to represent Pico della Mirandola, and later a medallist, which Mr. Horne thinks is a portrait of Giovanni, Cosimo's youngest son. (HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 28.) The Pollaiuolesque landscape certainly lends some support to the view that it belongs to this period. But the picture is so entirely deficient in quality, a deficiency that is not solely or even mainly due to its bad condition, that we doubt that it is by the master's hand. Moreover, we favour the opinion that it represents a medallist. The Boston Madonna is fine in colour and well preserved. After the completion of the St. Sebastian, Botticelli in 1474 went to Pisa, and painted, as an example of his skill, the Assumption in the Duomo, having been



Primavera

By J. B. Smith

Painted in 1875

See Index

of Spring in the Academy of Arts at Florence,¹ in which Botticelli, with great precision and finish, gives full play to his fancy, and embodies at once an exaggeration of the slenderness and free action of Fra Filippo Lippi with the realism and partiality to ornament of the Pollaiuoli and the modelled types of Verrocchio. The scene is a landscape of wood, orchard, and flowery meadow. A man with a winged helmet like a Mercury, scantily draped about the hips, with a sword at his side, strikes down the fruit from a tree—a youthful form in fair movement and proportion. Three females near him (? the Graces) dance on the green sward in the light folds of transparent veils; a fourth (? Venus) stands in rich attire in the centre of the ground; whilst, above them, the blind Cupid flies down with his lighted torch. On the right a flying genius, whose dress flutters in the wind, wafts a stream of air towards a female, in whose hand is a bow, and from whose mouth sprigs of roses fall into the garment of a nymph at her side.² In the latter figure we are reminded of Fra Filippo and Verrocchio by the narrow-waisted, thin-ankled, long-toed form, by the shape of the head, and the aged cast of features, which the school of Leonardo perpetuated in Lombardy. The realism of the goldsmiths is united to their luxurious richness of ornament and superabundance of jewellery and pearls; whilst the method in which the piece is painted is that of the Pollaiuoli, improved by the use of perhaps less viscous and consequently lower surface

summoned thither by the Opera del Duomo, with the idea of entrusting to him some of the frescoes in the Campo Santo, begun by Gozzoli in 1469. The authorities do not seem to have been impressed by Botticelli, for the commission to execute frescoes in the Campo Santo was not given to him. (See I. B. SUPINO, in *Archivio Stor dell' arte*, vi., p. 153.)

¹ No. 80. *Vide* VASARI (iii., p. 312). The picture was one of those originally in Cosimo's villa of Castello.

* The villa of Castello never belonged to Cosimo or Lorenzo the Magnificent, but to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, who commissioned the artist to paint the Primavera and the Birth of Venus.

*² The precise significance of the Primavera, notwithstanding the immense literature upon the subject, has still to be discovered. With reason have critics sought for its meaning in the classics and the works of the humanists, for Botticelli was a very literary artist. Politian, Lucretius, Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Virgil have all been suggested as having inspired the picture or parts of it, but neither the Kingdom of Venus nor the Judgment of Paris nor the Commemoration of Simonetta or any other interpretative title exactly fits the picture.

colours. It is a picture which is no longer fresh, but interesting as an illustration of the gradual growth of Botticelli's manner, and his characteristic treatment of half-heathen incidents in vogue at the time of Lorenzo de' Medici.

His talent in the production of sacred subjects at this period may be gauged by the Adoration of the Magi, executed for the Medici¹ in S. M. Novella,² and intended specially to honour the deceased Cosimo, who kneels before the Virgin and receives the blessing of the Infant. Behind him, persons of various ages, and in divers action, are well arranged in the space, a youth standing very nobly out in front. A kneeling group balancing this one is lined with a rear rank of standing spectators;³ and St. Joseph, just above and behind the Virgin, is relieved on the background, in which the penthouse rears its posts and beams. A tree and peacock and a pretty distance enrich the subject. This altarpiece is a tempera, in which a certain animation prevails; great individuality marks the portraits; the heads are well modelled and in fair relief; and some figures are grandly draped. The drawing is pure and the colour transparent, and the picture in its complete aspect is truly, though enthusiastically, described by Vasari as one of the best of the period.

About the time when Botticelli was called to Rome by Sixtus the Fourth,⁴ to paint in the Sixtine chapel, in competition with Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Cosimo Rosselli, and Luca Signorelli (? 1481-4),⁵ he had just executed the St. Augustine of Ognissanti,

*¹ Not for the Medici, but for Giovanni Lami, to whom the altar that this picture decorated then belonged. Masaccio's Trinity now occupies its place. See HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 38 *et seq.*

*² Uffizi, No. 1,286, wood, half life-size. VASARI, iii., p. 315; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 14.

*³ The two other Magi are described by VASARI as portraits of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici (iii., p. 315).

* Horne holds that the portrait said by the authors to be of Giuliano represents Piero il Gottoso. Giovanni cannot be represented, because the portrait said to be of him is too young. The first figure on the right in the first plane certainly represents Botticelli himself.

*⁴ VASARI, iii., pp. 316.

*⁵ This competition took place in 1481. There seems to be little ground for including Luca Signorelli's name.

in which the slumbering fire, hitherto kept under and restrained by various checks, now burst out. He combined in that figure, to which allusion has already been made, some of the vulgarity and grimace of Andrea del Castagno with an impetuosity and freedom of hand essentially his own. It was a period of great activity in Botticelli, that in which he illustrated with designs an edition of Dante (1481), noted for the fancy and spirit with which some of the drawings are conceived.¹ It was a period when he gave such a scope to his imagination and power that the result often surprises us into admitting that he produced something akin to the grandiose. His mastery of action in springing and dancing attitudes, his ability in rendering drapery in motion, and his comparative elegance and grace in female delineation, are illustrated in the great Coronation of the Virgin at the Florence Academy,² where he ably contrasts the humble and shrinking

¹ According to VASARI, he also commented DANTE. One of his illustrations, he says, was an *Inferno* (iii., p. 317). The edition of DANTE is described in PASSAVANT's *Peintre Graveur* (8vo, Leipzig, 1860, v., p. 396), as published in 1482 with engravings, partly from drawings of Sandro cut by Baccio Baldini, partly by Sandro himself. VASARI says indeed in his notices of Baldini (v., 396) that all his plates were designed by Botticelli.

* The engravings in Cristoforo Laudino's Dante were so far in character from the designs of Botticelli that there is little in them of their originals. We now know, however, of a superb illustration of the Divine Comedy executed by Botticelli, a whole series of designs (a series entirely independent of Baldini's engravings and executed much later, about 1492) first on parchment with a metallic point, then gone over with a pen and in part coloured. These designs to the number of eighty-five are in the Kupferstich-Kabinett at Berlin (whence they came from the Hamilton collection in 1882); eight are in the Vatican Library, where they were recognised by Strzygowski. These drawings were executed to illustrate a codex of Dante given to Botticelli to illustrate by Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, as we learn from the Anonimo Gaddiano (MILANESI, in VASARI, iii., p. 317, note.) On these drawings, see LIPPMANN, *Zeichnungen von Sandro Botticelli*, etc., Berlin, 1896.

Far better than the engravings of the Dante of 1481 is an engraving from a design of Botticelli, of which a unique example exists in the British Museum.

² No. 73. The picture was originally painted for S. Marco. The front figures are much injured and the surface is scaling. The predella in the same collection represents the Annunciation between four scenes from the lives of SS. John Evangelist, Augustine, Jerome, and Eloisius. It is numbered 74. Consult VASARI, iii., p. 312, and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 12.

* From the date of the construction of the Cappella di S. Eligio in S. Marco, for which altar this picture was ordered, it may be concluded that it was executed between 1488 and 1490.

nature of a Virgin crowned by the grave Eternal with a choir of cherubs, a covey of angels passing flowers to each other or casting them on the floor of the heavens—a dance of celestial children encircling the group, and four dignified saints looking up or pensive on a meadow below.

Botticelli succeeds in realising at least the idea of infinity and space. The joy of the spirits of paradise is not mystically conceived as it was by Angelico. It is expressed by elastic and mirthful motion and by a certain grace which compensates for want of nobleness in type. A balmy breeze waves through the locks and distends the draperies; and the eager angels who pass the flowers or cast them at the Virgin's feet foreshadow the similar productions of Raphael and proclaim Botticelli as the creator of models perfected by modern art. The influence of Fra Filippo may still be traced, however, in the slenderness of the Virgin, in the dress and lithesome action of the angels, whilst the realism and partiality to ornament of another school are revealed in the shaven Jerome and the finely proportioned St. Augustine who meditates, in the heavily bearded St. John Evangelist who looks up and holds an arm aloft, and in the contemplative St. Eloiſius who gives the blessing.

In the Sistine chapel, where Botticelli, previous to 1484,¹ painted scenes from the Old and New Testaments,² the features of his later style are all distinctly visible; but his compositions are ill distributed, and illustrate in this respect a lower level of art than that of Fra Filippo. He instinctively supplied this deficiency by throwing into the arrangement of his groups, and into the action of the figures which overcrowd them, an extraordinary amount of life, activity, and motion; into the draperies, the flutter of a

* ¹ On October 27, 1481, Botticelli, and his three other co-workers already named, signed the contract for the Sistine frescoes (STEINMANN, *Die Siet. Kap.*, i., p. 633), which were to be completed on March 15 of the following year. The time allowed seems very small, but it is certain that Botticelli was in Florence again in August, 1482.

* ² "And figures of Popes," adds VASARI (iii., p. 317). He was called to Rome by Sixtus IV., according to the biographer; and we know that Sixtus died in 1484. * Horne holds that several of these figures of Popes were executed from Botticelli's designs. HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 93 *et seq.*



WATERING SHEEP

By BOTICELLI

A detail from a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome

strong breeze, and into the ornament, excessive richness. The Destruction of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram¹ is a pregnant example of these remarkable peculiarities in the master's style, which are repeated in a certain measure in the fresco² of Moses Smiting the Egyptians at the Well.³ Setting composition altogether aside, the third wall-piece, devoted to the Temptation and Victory of Satan by Christ,⁴ contains groups which entitle the picture to claim a place amongst the best that Botticelli ever executed. Of these, one to the left combines the beauty and character of that which adorns the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi, and would alone suffice to prove that the author of that piece, so long falsely assigned to Ghirlandaio, was by his contemporary and competitor. We have had occasion to compare the two men in their works at Ognissanti. The comparison may be renewed in the Sixtine chapel, where we find Sandro inferior to Domenico and to Perugino, and only preserving superiority over Cosimo Rosselli, whilst the fire and vehemence of his action makes a near approach to that which we enjoy in the creations of Signorelli.

The Calumny of Apelles,⁵ which seems to have been of this time,⁶ adds another feature to the character of Botticelli.⁷ It shows him a student of classic statuary and of ancient architecture; whilst the figures in their gipsy wildness, although they are here and there admirably draped, remind us that action may be carried too far.

During his later career, Botticelli no doubt produced many more fine works. He certainly received great commissions.

¹ The second to the left as one enters the Sixtine chapel.

² This fresco is also on the wall to the left of the entrance.

* ³ And the Acts of Moses in the Land of Midian.

⁴ This fresco, the fifth, is on the wall to the right of the entrance.

* In the foreground is represented the Purification of the Leper (Leviticus xiv. 4). The Temptation of Christ is represented in the background.

⁵ Uffizi, No. 1,182, wood, small figures. The picture belonged to Fabio Segni. The verses quoted by Vasari are no longer on the basement. *Vide* VASARI, iii., p. 324.

⁶ See L. B. ALBERTI, *Pittura*, 84. * It is not improbable that besides the description of Alberti, Botticelli also consulted Lucian's text, either in the original or through the medium of a translation.

*⁷ The movement of the figures and the vigour of the composition seem to point to a date posterior to 1490.

That entrusted to him and to Ghirlandaio to paint in the Sala dell' Udienza of the Public Palace at Florence in 1482 is on record,¹ though it is not ascertained that he carried it out. One of his liveliest and most remarkable productions is the Death and Assumption of the Virgin,² which he painted for Matteo Palmieri—in San Piero of Florence—a panel (now at Hamilton House, near Glasgow) enriched with multitudes of figures, amongst which are the kneeling Palmieri and his wife. In the centre of the composition is the tomb out of which the Virgin has risen, lying in a landscape bounded by a view of Florence. The apostles kneel at its sides, and in the sky is the Virgin herself kneeling before the Saviour in the centre of a prismatic circle, in two sections of which saints and angels sit in converse two or three deep. There was but one voice in praise of this picture when it was exhibited, but it nearly got Botticelli into the hands of the priests, who charged him with heresy, and for a long time the altarpiece was closed to public view.³

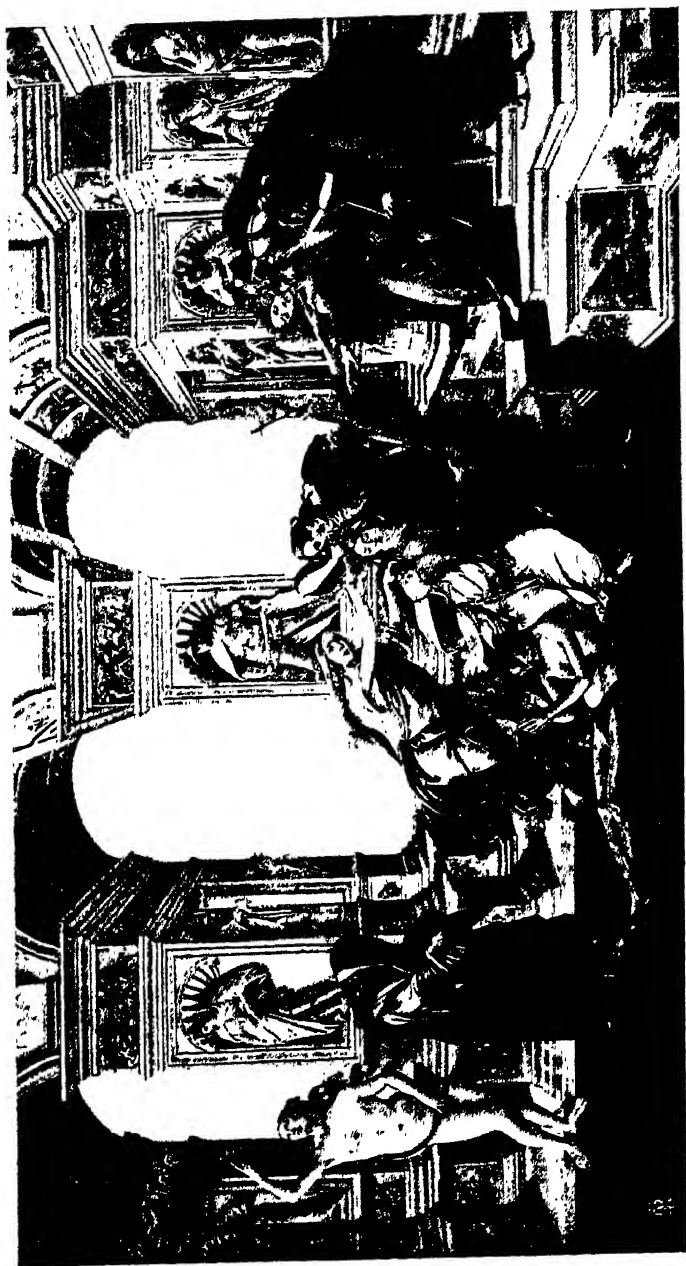
With less success, but not without versatility, Botticelli in 1487 painted four little panels for the wedding of Pier Francesco Bini with Lucretia Pucci. They illustrate Boccaccio's story of *Nastagio degli Onesti*, and are still in the Casa Pucci at Florence.⁴ The story is that Nastagio had spent his fortune in courting a lady who refused to accept his hand. One day in the country he saw a vision of a knight pursuing a maiden, tearing out her heart, and give it up to be devoured by his dogs. This vision he showed to his lady as an illustration of the woes that befall maidens who reject their lovers, and she, for fear of a similar fate, married Nastagio. In four small panels Botticelli represents the principal

¹ GAYE, i., p. 578.

* ² This picture, which is now in the National Gallery (No. 1126), is, as we shall see, a work of Botticelli. See *postea*, chap. XII, p. 297, note 1.

³ VASARI, iii., p. 314 and following; RICHA, *Chiese*, i., 154. The picture is fairly preserved, the heads of the donors alone retouched.

* ⁴ Three of these panels are now preserved in the collection of M. Spiridon in Paris, a fourth, representing the Celebration of the Marriage, is in the collection of Mr. Vernon Watney in London. In all four pictures there is evidence of the collaboration of different assistants of Botticelli. One of these assistants (as, I think, Mr. Berenson has indicated) was that Bartolommeo di Giovanni who painted part of the background and the predella of Domenico Ghirlandajo's picture in the Spedale degli Innocenti at Florence (Nos. 63-70).



CALUMNY

By BOTTICELLI

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

incidents of the legend: the knight tearing out the girl's heart, the dogs devouring her, the lady seeing the vision, and the wedding feast. A much injured and somewhat coarsely treated series.¹

An honourable commission in every respect to Botticelli was that entrusted to him in 1491 by the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici, in company with Domenico and David Ghirlandaio,² to execute the mosaics of the Cappella S. Zanobi in S. M. del Fiore; and it is to be regretted that the obliteration of that work, which was interrupted at Lorenzo's death, should preclude our judging Sandro's ability in a branch of art which he had hitherto not been known to practise.³ In the same year he was present at the meeting which we have now heard so much of in which the subject of debate was how the front of S. M. de' Fiore should be restored.⁴ His continued presence in Florence is, after this time, proved by casual circumstances—by a letter addressed through him to Lorenzo⁵ de' Medici by Michael Angelo in 1496⁶—his income-tax paper of 1498, in which he describes himself as residing with his brother Simone in the popolo S. Lucia of Ognissanti,⁷ and his opinion given in 1503 as to the place best fitted for Michael Angelo's David.⁸ But from that time till 1510, when he died,⁹ he no doubt sank in general esteem, because he varied his better works with others in which he lazily reproduced the same models, and filled the peninsula

¹ In the second of these panels many portions of the surface are retouched, and the figures of the female and one dog are new. In the Banquet, too, there is much restoring. The execution is worse, and the tempera without brightness. See VASARI, iii., p. 314.

*² And the miniaturists Gherardo and Bartolommeo and Monte di Giovanni.

³ The record dated 1491 is in MILANESI'S VASARI, iii., p. 251.

⁴ VASARI, iv., p. 308.

*⁵ That is, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici.

⁶ GUALANDI, ser. 3, p. 112.

⁷ GAYE, i., p. 343.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii., p. 458.

⁹ VASARI (iii., p. 321) says he suffered from lameness at last and walked on crutches; and, he adds, his means became so straitened that but for his friends and Lorenzo de' Medici "he would have died of hunger." It seems, however, that there were means enough at hand to purchase a tomb in Ognissanti, where Botticelli was buried. He died on May 17, 1510 (see Tav. Alfab., and note to VASARI, iii., p. 321).

with productions originally feeble and now rendered more so by time and restoring.

The catalogue of his works is naturally large and may be taken in the following order.¹

FLORENCE, *Uffizi*. No. 39. Canvas, life-size. Allegory of the Birth of Venus. The goddess issues from a shell which is driven to the shore by two flying allegories of the winds. The figures are a little out of balance. The picture originally belonged to the Medici and was painted for Cosimo's villa of Castello.²

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 1,289. Wood; life-size. Round: representing the Virgin and Child and six angels. Not so fine as that cited in previous pages, but good and worthy of the master.³

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 1,158. Wood; small figure. A small subject. Holophernes found dead in his tent.

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 1,156. Wood. Judith cutting off the head of Holophernes. A small piece, not free from retouching. Mr. O. Mündler (*Zeitschr. f. Bild. K., u.s.*, ii., Band 279) noticed a repetition of this, he thought, by Filippino in the Palazzo de' Fondi at Naples.⁴

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts. Galerie*. No. 85. Originally in S. Barnaba of Florence.⁵ Two angels raising curtains at each side disclose the Virgin attended by two seraphs holding the Symbols of the Passion, between SS. Barnabas, Michael, John Evangelist, Ambrose, and Catherine of Alexandria.⁶ The upper part of the picture is a modern addition by Veracini. It is a fine piece, not free from retouching.⁷

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 84. Raphael and Tobit, a picture of the school.

¹ This list omits the pictures already noticed in the text.

² VASARI, iii., p. 312. This villa (see *antea*, p. 253, note 1) was not the property of Cosimo. This picture is of a later date than the Primavera which adorned the same villa.

³ In all probability this is the tondo painted, in 1487, for the Sala d'udienza del Magistrato de' Massai della Camera, of which MILANESI found a record. VASARI, iii., p. 322, note. A repetition with two angels is in the collection of Sir Julius Wernher. Another version only of the central group was in the collection of Mr. Leyland, which was dispersed in 1892.

⁴ The replica, not by Filippino, but of the school of Botticelli, is now in the hands of Signor Bardini at Florence.

⁵ VASARI, iii., p. 312, and RICHIA, vii., p. 65.

⁶ The saints are St. Barnabas, St. Augustine, and St. Catherine on the left, and St. John Baptist and St. Ignatius and St. Michael on the right.

⁷ Its probable date is about 1483. See HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 154. Three archangels and Tobit, already noticed in the works of the Pollaiuoli.¹

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. Two scenes from the Life of St. Augustine in the manner of Botticelli or his school. Herodias with St. John's head in a basin. A scene from the life of St. Andrew. Small pieces of little importance.²

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 88. Virgin, Child, and saints. See *antea* in A. del Castagno.

FLORENCE, *Galleria Pitti*. No. 348. Bracc. 1.18.10 in diam.; wood. Round, with half-lengths of the Holy Family and angels. Not a fine production of the master.³

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 357. Canvas; bracc. 2.5.10 high by 1.11.6. The Virgin erect holding the Infant, who turns to embrace the youthful St. John. A genuine work.

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 61. Wood, half-length. Bracc. 1.1.0 high by 0.13.10. A bust portrait, said to be that of "La bella Simonetta," for whom the attachment of Julian de' Medici is known. Profile with a cap and in simple attire, of slender form, long neck, and dull grey tone. This picture is a genuine one, but seems to represent a person of a lower rank than La Simonetta.⁴

FLORENCE, *S. Jacopo di Ripoli*.⁵ Altar to the right of entrance. Subject: The Coronation of the Virgin, who kneels in a glory of graceful playing angels. Eighteen saints stand below, all but life-size. This picture, long assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a careful production of Botticelli's fine time and stands in some relation, as regards beauty, to the Adoration of the Magi in which the kings are portraits of the Medici.

FLORENCE, *Casa Alessandri*. *Borgo degli Albizzi*. Round of the Virgin, Child, and angels, in arrangement similar, in execution inferior, to the same subject, No. 1,267 *bis* in the Uffizi.⁶

FLORENCE, *Galleria Corsini*. No. 167. Round; two angels open a

*¹ For this and the preceding picture see the note on Botticini.

*² These four predella pictures, together with three others now lost, formed a part of the predella of the picture of St. Barnabas (see above). These panels represent the Pietà (No. 157), a scene from the life of St. Augustine (No. 162), and a scene from the life of St. Ignatius (No. 158) as well as another from the life of St. John the Baptist (No. 161). Those relating to St. Barnabas, St. Catharine, and St. Michael are missing.

*³ A better variant was in the collection of the late Louisa, Lady Ashburton, at Melchet Court. See *postea*, p. 266.

*⁴ This is certainly a school picture.

*⁵ Now in the Conservatorio La Quiete, near Florence. A school picture.

*⁶ *Vide antea*, p. 251, note 3.

curtain and hold a crown above the Virgin's head. Four others attend with the symbols of the Passion. A picture damaged by scaling.¹

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. Not numbered. Five small allegorical figures on one panel. Assigned by mistake to Angelico.

FLORENCE, *Lombardi Collection*. The Child lies on the ground stretching its arms towards the Virgin, whose hands are crossed on her bosom. Angels attend. Half-lengths, fairly preserved.

FLORENCE, *Oratory of S. Ansano*. Four allegories on separate panels, representing the triumphs, of Love, of Chastity, of Time, of Divinity, in the manner of Botticelli and his school, but injured.²

VOLTERRA, *Badia, Sacristy*.³ A Coronation of the Virgin almost similar to that of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, with only four saints and a kneeling monk at the foot. This piece is in Botticelli's manner but in a wretched condition.⁴

PRATO, *Signor Nistri*. Round. The Infant Saviour, seated on a cushion, with a book in its hand, looking up at the Virgin adoring him with joined hands. Right, a table with a vase of roses. Left, the youthful Baptist. This is a fine and well-preserved picture of the master, with all but life-size figures, painted in a light and somewhat raw tempera, akin to that found in works of Filippino.

EMPOLI, *Pieve*. At each side of a statue by Rossellino two angels with folded arms, much ornamented. Above these, figures of a man and woman kneeling. Below, five scenes of a ruder execution.⁵ The angels, though graceful, seem the creation of a young apprentice in Botticelli's atelier. The portraits are good.⁶

ROME, *Galleria Borghese*. No. 348. A fine round of the Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist in an interior between six angels singing behind a parapet. The figures are almost life-size.⁷

*¹ School repetition of the picture executed for S. Barnaba. From the Villa Medici at Careggi.

*² These panels are now given to Jacopo del Sellaio. See Appendix to chap. VII.

*³ Now in the Bâle Gallery. A school-piece.

*⁴ VASARI mentions works undertaken by Botticelli for Lorenzo de' Medici in the Spedaletto, now a private house belonging to the Princes Corsini near Volterra (iii., p. 318).

* For the Spedaletto, Botticelli executed a series of frescoes (destroyed by fire on some date between 1820 and 1830) in company with Filippino, Perugino and Ghirlandajo, after he had worked at the Sistine Chapel, and before 1485, the probable date of the important document discovered by MÜLLER WALDE. (*Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1897, p. 165.)

*⁵ VASARI, iii., pp. 322, 323.

*⁶ The whole of the Empoli tabernacle is by Botticini. See note to chapter XIII.

*⁷ This is a school picture.

MODENA, *Gallery*. No. 28. Wood, m. 1.20 in diam. Round of the Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist. A dull and middling picture of the school.

MILAN, *Ambrosiana*. No. 72. Small round of the Virgin kneeling and pressing the stream of milk from her breast into the mouth of the Child erect before her; two angels raise a curtain at the sides. This piece is pretty and carefully carried out, executed with much feeling in a style taken up by Filippino Lippi and exaggerated by Raffaellino del Garbo.

TURIN, *Gallery*. No. 109. Wood, m. 0.80 high by 0.57. Virgin and Child, half-length, in a landscape. The Virgin gentle and slender, the Child feeble. A fair example of Botticelli's manner.

TURIN, *same gallery*. No. 106. An allegory, in the fashionable style treated by Piero della Francesca, of a female in a car drawn by two unicorns. Amongst other figures is one in front carrying a flag. The distance is a landscape. A small and minutely finished piece, but injured in part by abrasion.¹ According to the late Mr. O. Mündler (*Zeitschrift für Bild. Kunst. Zw.*, Band 11, Heft. 279), this picture is part of a series representing the triumph of Judith, four numbers of which (highly finished) are in the Palazzo Adorno at Genoa.

TURIN, *same gallery*. No. 113. Three archangels and Tobit; weak, but in the manner of Botticelli's school, between Filippino and Botticelli in style, and of light but feeble colour, possibly by Raffaellino del Garbo or some other pupil in the shop of Filippino.²

TURIN, *same gallery*. No. 111. A subject called the Destruction of Jerusalem, in reality a battle piece, not by Botticelli, though of the Floren-

*¹ This picture represents the triumph of Chastity. It is a school-piece.

*² This is one of the best known of the works attributed by Mr. Berenson to "Amico di Sandro." Under this name Mr. Berenson has grouped works of different members of Botticelli's numerous school of pupils and imitators. It would be difficult, for instance, amongst the followers of one great master to find artists more diverse in aim and ability than the painter of Mrs. Austen's Madonna and the painter of Esther's First Audience with Ahasuerus in the Musée Condé at Chantilly. The painter of Mrs. Austen's Madonna, with none of his master's grace of line, exaggerates and caricatures the heaviness, the dull, listless, sensual melancholy of the greater artist's less desirable works. The other, although a little master, has the command of a singularly sensitive line, and his work is full of Gallic grace and charm. Nor is the title "Amico di Sandro" an invention worthy of a leading member of the scientific school of criticism. The pictures cannot be made to prove that their author was a friend of Botticelli. The imitators of an artist are not always his friends. (BERENSON, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, London, 1901, pp. 45-69.)

tine school, and of the class usually known as Peselli, Dello, Uccello. [Its latest name is Parri Spinelli.] See *antea* in the Peselli.¹

TURIN, *same gallery*. No. 116. Virgin and Child, not by Botticelli, but in the manner of Lorenzo di Credi.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 102. Wood, 6 ft. 1½ in. in diam. From the Solly collection. Round of the Virgin, Child, and seven graceful angels, with a rose edge and sky for background; injured by restoring, especially in the Virgin and Child.

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 106. Wood, 6 ft. 1 in. high by 5 ft. 11 in. A fine picture by the master, of the Virgin and Child between the Baptist and Evangelist.²

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 1,117. Wood, 3 ft. 6 in. high by 3 ft. 9 in. From the Solly collection. An Annunciation, genuine, but of little comparative interest or value.³

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 1,124. Canvas, 5 ft. high by 2 ft. 2 in., tempera. From the Solly collection. Venus erect, imitating the pose of the Medicean. Not one of the best productions of Botticelli.⁴

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 81. 1 ft. 2¾ in. high by 9½ in. From the Solly collection. A profile portrait, as alleged, of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, dressed much in the modest garb of the so-called Simonetta at the Pitti; carefully but feebly executed, of a dull tone.

BERLIN, *Raczynski Gallery*.⁵ No. 54. Wood, 4 ft. 3 in. in diam. A fine round of the life-size Virgin holding the Infant, who looks at the spectator and tries to open his mother's dress; a group not without feeling. An angel on the right points out a passage in a book to three others. Four angels on the right. The movements are good and varied, the four last leaning on each other's shoulders in pretty companionship. The nude is well rendered, developed in the articulations and extremities in the somewhat heavy style common to the Pollaiuoli and the figure of Fortitude by Botticelli. The picture has been restored, but the colour does not want light.

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,010. Wood, 4 ft. 3 in. high by 6 ft. 5 in. The Saviour's body on the knees of the Virgin, between eight saints, all but life-size. This is a fine picture, answering the description

*¹ In the catalogue of 1899 this picture is attributed to Giuliano Pesello.

*² This is the picture, it is said, mentioned by VASARI (iii., p. 310) as originally in S. Spirito at Florence. It was purchased for Berlin by Baron von Rumohr.

*³ According to a document found by SUPINO (*Sandro Botticelli*, Florence, 1899, p. 83) we know that it was executed in 1485. *⁴ This is a school picture.

*⁵ Probably the execution is that of a pupil. A similar school picture is at Melchet Court. See *postea*, p. 264. *⁶ Now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. No. 102A.

given by RICHA (iii., pp. 278-80, and VASARI, iii., p. 312) of a *Pietà* in the sacristy of S. M. Maggiore and executed for the Pianciatichi of Florence, only that here the figures are almost life-size, and Vasari describes them as "small."¹

DRESDEN, *Gallery*. Nos. 11, 12. Both 1 ft. 8 in. high by 1 ft. 1 in. *Ecce Homo*² and John Baptist (bust), the first of the school, the second still less good.

DRESDEN, *Gallery*. No. 10. Round of the Virgin, Child, and angels, by a rude executant of Botticelli's shop. No. 8 of the school.³

DRESDEN. Collection of the late Herr von Quandt.⁴ Wood. Small predella representing miracle of the boy who was run over by a car and revived by St. Zenobius. This little piece, bought from Messrs. Metzger in Florence, is in the character of Botticelli's earlier creations.⁵

FRANKFORT, *Staedel Institute*. No. 11. Wood, 2 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 8 in. A colossal profile of a female like a study of the antique, of regular form and cold grey tone on black ground.

PARIS, *Louvre*. No. 196. Wood, tempera, m. 0.93 high by 0.69. The Virgin, Infant, and youthful Baptist, with a landscape distance, in the style of the school of Fra Filippo, with something of the manner of Botticelli in colour.

PARIS, *Louvre*. 1,299. Wood, m. 0.85 high by 2.20. A Venus Lying in a Meadow, with Cupids.⁶

ST. PETERSBURG, *Hermitage*. No. 3. Wood, 2 ft. 4 in. high by 3 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Adoration of the Kings. The Virgin and Child under the penthouse in a landscape, near them St. Joseph, to the left the kings, to the right other personages, many of them portraits, one kneeling. Small panel with numerous figures of graceful air—a genuine Botticelli, recalling Fra Filippo in his kindest mood, or the youth of Filippino.

*¹ HORNE (*op. cit.*, pp. 287, 288), with some reason, contends that the *Pietà* painted for S. Maria Maggiore is the school copy at the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum (No. 552). A second copy was in the Bourgeois collection at Cologne.

*² Not an *Ecce Homo*, but a St. John the Evangelist.

*³ The Virgin, the Holy Child, and St. John. A similar school replica, which was in the Leyland collection in London, is now in the *Staedel Institute* at Frankfort.

*⁴ Now in the Dresden Gallery (No. 9). Two other panels of the same series belonged to Dr. Ludwig Mond, of London. See RICHTER, *The Mond Collection*, pp. 401-22.

*⁵ Many modern critics hold that these pictures belong to Botticelli's later time, but Dr. Richter is of the same opinion as the authors. He holds that they were executed between 1470 and 1480.

*⁶ This is a school picture.

NEWBATTLE, *Marquis of Lothian*. Round of the Virgin Embracing the Child; original, somewhat restored, and not of Botticelli's best.

LONDON, *Mr. Barker's collection*. Life-size Virgin, Child, and youthful Baptist, the latter standing on one side, whilst a vase of flowers is on the other.

LONDON, *same collection*. The life-size Virgin embracing the Infant, and the youthful Baptist in prayer. Both these pictures are fine and well preserved.

LONDON, *same collection*. Less attractive than the foregoing, a Venus Lying in a Meadow with Cupids.¹

LONDON, *Gallery of the late Mr. Bromley*. Two life-size figures of Venus, not in the best style of Botticelli. One recalling that of Berlin and injured (since purchased by Lord Ashburton for 100 guineas), the other originally in the Palazzo Feroni at Florence, better than the first and marked by a garland of flowers (purchased by Lord Ashburton for 150 guineas).²

LONDON, *same collection*. A round with half-lengths of the Infant Saviour on the ground, adored by the Virgin, kneeling in prayer, with five angels in attendance. In the distance is a rosebush and landscape. This picture (purchased by Lord Ashburton for 750 guineas) is in the raw system of tone peculiar to some of the master's works.³

LONDON, *Mr. Fuller Maitland's collection* (No. 78 at Manchester). Nativity. In the centre the penthouse, in front of which the Infant lies and is adored by the Virgin. Some of the shepherds are led towards the Saviour by angels, others in the foreground express their joy by embracing the pastors. A choir sings on the roof of the penthouse, others dance in a circle in the heavens. At each side of the foreground, devils. This is one of the pictures in which Sandro allowed his usual spirit to burst out into extraordinary effervescence. A Greek inscription in the upper part of the panel states that the picture was executed in 1500.⁴ Exquisite taste is shown in the ornament and great care in the execution, but the picture is not in perfect condition.

*¹ This, no doubt, is the Venus and Mars of the National Gallery, No. 915, an authentic work of the master which was bought at the Barker sale.

*² Cavalcaselle and Crowe give these works elsewhere to the school of the master. See the Italian edition of this book, tom. vi., p. 301.

*³ This picture is in Lord Northampton's collection at Melchet Court. (See *antea*, p. 261.)

⁴ This has also been read 1511, and SCHORN'S VASARI makes it 1460. See notes to ii., pp. 243-4. The picture was in the Otley collection. (See VASARI, ed. Sansoni, iii., p. 331.)

* Since 1878 this picture has been at the National Gallery (No. 1,034). The

LONDON, *same collection* (No. 52, at Manchester). The Virgin adoring the Child, and St. John. This piece has the character of Botticelli's school, but the figure of the Virgin is most in Botticelli's own style.

LONDON, *same collection* (*Fuller Maitland*). Round (wood, figures one-quarter of life-size) of the Adoration of the Magi, composed and treated on the principles of bas-relief. In the centre is the Virgin and Child with St. Joseph; in front, the kneeling king; to the left, the second king raises the crown from his head, his attendants forming circle about him; to the right, the third king kneels with his suite. These groups form a pyramidal composition of which the Virgin in a ruin is the centre. At each side of the foreground, again, are crowded people in varied actions. The distance is an arch and a city in a landscape. The figures are bold, the horses classic in the style of those of Montecavallo, and it would seem as if Botticelli painted this picture after staying in Rome (1484). The master and frames are reminiscent of Fra Filippo, the handling careful and good.¹

OXFORD, *Christ Church Gallery*. Nos. 109 and 110. Sybils in niches assigned to Botticelli. These are hung very high, and at the distance seem genuine productions.

GOSFORD, *Earl of Wemyss, from the Northwick collection*. A much-injured Nativity on canvas (Virgin adores the Saviour).

LONDON, *Earl Dudley, Dudley House*. A round of the Nativity executed poorly by some of the master's pupils.

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 226. Wood, round, 3 ft. 8 in. in

correct reading of the Greek inscription shows that the picture was finished in 1500. Professor Villari, Professor Sidney Colvin (in the *Academy*, 1871, Feb. 15th), and other writers have shown that this picture was painted under the influence of Savonarola. It is full of the spiritual joy of those called by their enemies Piagnoni, who believed that the Church was to be purged of corruption and filled with new life.

*1 Since 1878 this picture has been at the National Gallery (No. 1,033), where it has been given to Filippino. This is probably the tondo with the Epiphany of Casa Pucci, of which VASARI speaks (iii., p. 312). Because of its reminiscences of Fra Filippo, it is difficult to give it to any date after Botticelli's visit to Rome, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle have done. It seems to have been painted before 1481 and at some date near to that other Adoration of the Magi formerly in S. Maria Novella. If the isolated figure of the youth holding a horse on the left of the composition is, as may be assumed from his similarity to the auto-portrait in the Uffizi Adoration (No. 1,286), a portrait of Botticelli himself (KONODY, *An Unknown Portrait of Botticelli, Connoisseur*, Jan. 1908, p. 45 *et seq.*), the National Gallery picture must have been printed about 1764.

diam. Virgin and Child, youthful Baptist, and angels; a dull-toned picture.¹

LONDON, *same collection*. No. 275. Same subject. Not a fine example.

GLASGOW, *Hamilton Palace*.² Adoration of the Magi, with upwards of twenty figures. A bright blended tempera, assigned to Botticelli, but more in the style of Filippino Lippi's Wedding Chest (see *postea*) in the Torrigiani Gallery at Florence.

LONDON, *late Sir Anthony Stirling*. Canvas. Life-size fragment representing half-length of a female, who with both hands squeezes the milk from her breast; a scarf with red and green stripes covers her shoulder (part dimmed by time). On her head is a dress of pearls and feathers. Distance, sky and hills. This is probably a portrait, but though called "La Simonetta," unlike the likeness of that lady, which we shall examine presently. It is a fine example of Botticelli imitating the antique.³

FRANCE, *collection of Mr. Reiset*. Vasari notices two portraits in the "guardaroba" of Cosimo de Medici (VASARI, iii., p. 322). One represented "La Simonetta," and it is said the other was Lucrezia Tornabuoni. The Pitti Gallery claims the first, the Berlin Museum the second. Both, however, seem to be likenesses of persons of a bourgeois class. Nor are they fine productions of the master. Mr. Reiset possesses a magnificent profile of a female (bust, all but naked to the waist), with hair in tresses, and twisted with pearls and hanging ornaments representing hearts, with a jewel on the top of it. A jewelled serpent is twined round her neck. A scarf with variegated stripes is about her form, and the head is detached on clouds topping a landscape of water and hills. This all but life-size portrait bears the inscription: SIMONETTA JANVENSIS VESPVOCIA.

The figure and neck are long and slender, the drawing is exquisitely precise and finished, and the portrait generally is far superior in every respect to those before alluded to. It almost equals, indeed, in richness and beauty the creations of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, which Botticelli came near in some of his pieces; and must be by one of these masters or Botticelli. It is, at all events, probably that mentioned by

*¹ This is said to be a copy of a similar tondo in the collection of Prince Pallavicini at Rome, but neither picture is by the master's own hand, though the picture in Rome is nearer to Botticelli than that in London.

Now at the National Gallery (No. 1,124) and attributed to Filippino.

*³ This picture is now in Sir F. Cook's collection at Richmond. It is a charming work, but it is not by Botticelli.

Vasari, and if by Botticelli (one cannot affirm that it is), in the unusual style in which he approached the "orafi."¹

Same collection. Mr. Reiset also possesses an injured allegorical figure, of colossal size, representing perhaps one of the seasons, with three attendant children and cornucopias. At Rome, where this piece once was, it was named Mantegna,² but it is, no doubt, by Botticelli.³

PARIS, *M. de Triqueti*. Bust portrait of a man in a "red cap, on green ground, half life-size." This piece—in the character of Botticelli—was in the Pourtalès collection.⁴

*¹ This portrait, now in the museum at Chantilly (No. 13), represents Cleopatra, and is evidently a work of Piero di Cosimo. The inscription was added later. No existing portrait can be positively stated to represent Simonetta Vespucci.

*² It is noted as a Mantegna in *Com. to Vasari*, by SELVATICO, v., p. 193.

*³ This picture, The Autumn, is also in the Chantilly Museum. It is the work of a pupil of the master, and is derived in part from a figure in the Sistine fresco of the Sacrifice of Isaac, in part from the design of Abundance in the British Museum.

*⁴ The authors' list of the works of Botticelli and of his more accomplished followers is far from being complete, and we do not intend in this place to attempt to complete it; we will content ourselves with adding to it some of the more important works of the master and his school that are not noticed by the authors:—

BERLIN, Dr. Eduard Simon's Collection. A Madonna with the Child, a fragment of a picture similar in design to that of the Heseltine collection. It is, probably, a part of the lost original of the Heseltine picture. This panel has suffered considerably, but what remains of the original work is of a very fine quality.

BERLIN, Dr. Eduard Simon's Collection. Male portrait, a bust, from the Leuchtenburg Gallery at St. Petersburg. Several other portraits of this kind are to be found in European galleries—in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (No. 78, 106A, and 106B), at the Louvre, in the Liechtenstein collection, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Given to pupils by Mr. BERENSON (*Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, London, 1901, 1st ser., p. 60 *et seq.*), they have been now restored to the master by Dr. BODE (*Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1906, pp. 246, 247).

BERLIN, Kaufmann collection. Judith with the Head of Holofernes. A small picture, perhaps a fragment, similar in style to St. Augustine of the Uffizi (see HORNE, *op. cit.*, p. 264).

BERLIN, Huldshinsky collection. A very beautiful little Annunciation, a work of the master himself of about 1480 (see BODE, *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1906, pp. 247, 248). Until recently this picture was in the private apartments of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome.

BERGAMO, Morelli collection (No. 83). Portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, a school picture.

BERGAMO, Morelli collection. The Story of Virginia. Perhaps, as Morelli believed, this is one of the pictures executed for Giovanni Vespucci, which are recorded by Vasari. The "Spalliera" is full of small figures moving about in a sumptuous Roman basilica.

BOSTON, U.S.A., Gardner collection. A panel for a "spalliera," like that already noted at Bergamo, with which it coincides in style and measurements. From the Ashburnham collection.

BOSTON, Gardner collection. A tondo of the Virgin and Child, with St. Joseph, the young St. John, and two shepherds. Horne believes this to be by the same hand as the Heseltine Madonna.

FLORENCE, Palazzo Pitti. Pallas and the Centaur (6 ft. 9 in. by 4 ft. 10 in.). This picture was rediscovered in 1895 in the private apartments of the Palazzo Pitti, where it still remains. It was originally painted for Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, as is proved by an inventory of 1516 (HORNE, *op. cit.*, doc. xxx. and p. 158). It is painted in tempera on canvas, and has been much damaged. Pallas crowned with olive, with a lance in her left hand, holds with her right the hair of vanquished Centaur. She symbolises Medicean wisdom and culture quelling lawlessness. On the robe of Medici are to be seen the three Medici rings. The picture was painted towards 1490. In the ship which is to be seen nearing the shore in the background has been found a reference to Lorenzo's triumphant return from Naples in 1480. A similar background is to be seen in a coarsely painted picture of the Judgment of Paris, the work of some inferior follower of Botticelli, which is to be found in Mr. T. W. Jackson's collection at Oxford.

FLORENCE, Galleria degli Uffizi (No. 1,316). An Annunciation, from the convent of Cestello, for which church it was painted in 1490 for the price of 30 ducats (MILANESI in VASARI, p. 314 note). A well-preserved picture in its original frame (size without the frame, 4 ft. 9½ in. by 5 ft. ½ in.).

FLORENCE, Marchese Farinola, formerly in the collection of Marchese Capponi, the Communion of St. Jerome. A genuine little work of the master, of which two contemporary copies exist at Palazzo Balbi, Genoa, and in the collection of Sir William Abdy in Paris. The Marchese Farinola's picture was recently offered for sale in London.

FLORENCE, Galleria degli Uffizi (No. 3,438), Altarpiece, with the Madonna enthroned and three saints on either side of her. By some pupil of Botticelli, who was closely associated with though not identical with the master who painted the altarpiece of S. Giovanni at Montelupo.

GLASGOW, collection of Signor A. Mann. A Madonna and Child, a repetition with a different background of the central portion of the S. Spirito altarpiece now at Berlin.

LONDON, National Gallery (No. 626). A fine portrait of a young man with a red cap and brown tunic, seen full face. Once said to be a portrait of Masaccio by himself; now it is one of the few portraits that critics generally agree to be the work of Botticelli himself.

LONDON, Heseltine collection. The Virgin holding the Child with both her hands toward the little St. John, who kneels before him. This picture was executed from a design of Botticelli in his bottega.

LYONS, Aynard collection. A Crucifixion, bought some years ago in Florence. St. Mary Magdalene clings passionately to the cross. On the other side is an angel about to run an animal through with a sword. This picture, which in its mysticism recalls the Nativity of the National Gallery, seems to be a genuine work of the master, though much injured by excessive cleaning and by repainting.

MILAN, Poldi Pezzoli Museum (No. 19). Besides the Pietà already mentioned, there is a Madonna and Child, which, as far as can be seen from its present much-restored state, seems to be a genuine work of Sandro.

PARIS, Baron Lazzaroni's collection. Portrait of the Florentine humanist, Lorenzino. Bust almost full face, with a repainted background, executed towards 1495. VENTURI, in *Arte*, 1908, pp. 135, 136.

PARIS, M. Féral's collection. The Madonna Embracing the Child. This picture may be the original of the school picture in Mrs. Austin's collection at Capel Manor, Horsenden. (See VENTURI in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1907, July, p. 5 *et seq.*)

PARIS, Louvre. Lorenzo Tornabuoni and the Seven Liberal Arts, and Giovanna, his wife, with the Three Graces. These two frescoes were removed from the Villa Lemmi, near Florence, and were much injured in the process. Like the other allegorical pictures of the master, they reveal the master's inventive faculty. A third fresco, much injured, representing Giovanni in the uniform of a gonfalonier of justice, with his daughter, is yet at the villa. These frescoes cannot have been painted long after the marriage of Lorenzo and Giovanna in 1486.

PHILADELPHIA, Mr. J. G. Johnson's collection. Four predella pictures, each $7\frac{1}{2}$ broad by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, representing scenes from the life of St. Mary Magdalene.

PHILADELPHIA, Mr. J. G. Johnson's collection. Portrait of a man, with a black cap and red dress.

PIACENZA, Museo Civico (No. 152). A tondo with the Virgin and the little St. John adoring the Holy Child. A school picture.

ROME, collection of Prince Pallavicini. Besides the tondo referred to in a preceding note, there is to be found the famous picture of the Outcast, first attributed to Botticelli by VENTURI (*Tesori d'Arte inediti a Roma*, 1896). We are not convinced that this attribution is correct. Much nearer to Botticelli is a little picture in the same collection, hitherto unnoticed by art critics. It is in three compartments. In the centre is the Transfiguration, in the two side panels are St. Jerome and St. Augustine. The crudity of the colour, the exaggerated movement of the figures, and certain mannerisms in the details of the design, lead us to date this picture after 1490.

ROME, collection of Count Stroganoff. A Madonna and Child, a school picture, but in a very fine state of preservation.

TURIN, Gallery (No. 110). A tondo of the Virgin and Child and two saints. A school picture. (See CAVALCASELLE and CROWE in the Italian edition of this work, vi., 280.)

The following list comprises such pictures as Vasari and others mention, and which have either perished or escaped research.

FLORENCE. Convent of the Convertite, table.¹ Casa Medici, a Pallas and a St. Sebastian.² Casa Pucci, round of the Epiphany.³ Guardaroba of Cosimo de' Medici, a Bacchus.⁴ Pisa, Duomo, Cappella dell' Impagliata, unfinished Ascension.⁵ Montevarchi, S. Francesco, picture of high altar.⁶ Florence Orsanmichele, Baldacchino.⁷ Monastery of the Angeli, round.⁸ Cappella de' Canneri, Annunciation.⁹

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 422, and BORGHINI, ii., p. 134. [* See MESNIL, in the *Rivista d' Arte*, 1903, pp. 96-8.]

² iii., p. 312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii., p. 322.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii., pp. 323, 324.

* ³ See *antea*, p. 267, note 1. *Ibid.*, iii., p. 313.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷ iii., p. 323.

⁹ RICHIA, i., p. 322.

CHAPTER XIII

FILIPPINO LIPPI AND THE RAPHAELS

FROM the numerous and interesting works of Botticelli we naturally turn to those which illustrate the career of Filippino. But before we venture upon the analysis of his great and important creations, we pause to inquire when he was born and who are his parents. There seems to be no doubt now that he was the natural son of Fra Filippo and Lucretia Buti, and it is probable that he was born about 1458-9 at Prato.¹

The date of Filippino's registry in the guild of Florentine painters is unfortunately illegible, and we do not certainly know who his first tutor in art may have been, but his style displays a close adherence to the salient principles in the art of Fra Filippo; and though Vasari says that Botticelli was his master, it may be assumed that he first learnt drawing at Prato—from Fra Diamante.² In the minutes of a meeting held at Prato in 1501, it is stated by one of the speakers that Filippino was a fit person to paint in the town hall, because it was in Prato that he had been brought up.³

A glance at the wall-paintings of the Brancacci chapel, especially at those which seem the earliest, such as the liberation of St. Peter and Paul's interview with him in prison, show the clear derivation of Filippino's style from that of Fra Filippo. Some points of resemblance in a few pictures of Filippino and Botticelli may be due to their common study of the works of Fra Filippo and to a later connection with each other. One of the

*1 Milanese says 1457. See VASARI, iii., p. 476, note 1. He was born in 1457 or 1458. Lucrezia Buti returned to the convent in December, 1458, and only returned to Fra Filippo three or four years later. A *tamburazione* dated May 8th, 1461, states distinctly that Filippino was at that date in his father's house.

² Compare VASARI, iii., p. 161. [* Documents show that Filippino was with Filippo for the two years that he remained at Prato. In 1472 he passed into the studio of Botticelli. See SUPINO, *Les deux Lippi*, Florence, 1904.]

³ Minute in *Giornale Stor. degli Archiv. Toscani*, ii., p. 248, and in G. GUASTI's *Catalogue of the Gallery of Prato*, 8vo, 1858, p. 43.

early productions which betrays Filippino's earnestness in clinging to the models of his father is the beautiful series of panels forming a wedding chest which lately passed out of the Torrigiani Gallery at Florence to the collection of the Duke d'Aumale at Chantilly.¹ The panels are four in number and represent scenes from the history of Esther. They are rich in incident, full of life and feeling, luxuriously ornamented, and exquisitely coloured. They are a delicate and refined creation of Filippino's youth. Equally charming in its treatment as well as in its reminiscences of Fra Filippo's skill in distributing groups and figures is the Epiphany, till lately at Hamilton Palace near Glasgow, a small panel with numerous figures in a landscape.² The handling, the colour, the character of this piece are all remarkable. The finish is masterly, the tone clear and bright, the mien of the personages elevated and gentle, the dresses tasteful and rich.

Filippino displays higher powers still in a picture ordered by Francesco del Pugliese for a chapel at "la Campora" in 1480.³ It still hangs on an altar to the left of the entrance to the Badia in Florence, and represents the vision of St. Bernard, with a bust portrait of the donor on the foreground to the right. Bold design is carried out in lines broken and resumed to suit the necessities of a style affecting to seek out every possible curve in nature. A graceful animation and playful eagerness, a demonstrative mode of expressing the feelings, are equally characteristic, whilst the execution is all that can be desired for precision. The saint, standing pen in hand at a desk, seems entranced, and looks with extatic veneration at a Virgin of noble presence who, moving forward with attendant seraphs, turns the leaves of his book. It is a vision recalling that afterwards conceived by

*¹ Only one of these panels—and that the most beautiful—representing the meeting of Esther and Ahasuerus is at Chantilly; the second is in the possession of Mr. Leopold Goldschmid at Paris, and the others are in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna.

*² Now in the National Gallery (No. 1,124). See *antea*, note on p. 268.

*³ If this date be correctly given by PUCCINELLI in *Cronica della Badia Fiorentina*, Milan, 1664, Ap. note to VASARI, iii., p. 464. [* The picture was ordered by Piero di Francesco del Pugliese, and the date of the execution was between 1480 and 1482, as is proved by an account-book of the convent for which the picture was painted. See SUPINO, *Miscellanea d'Arte*, 1903, pp. 1-4.]



THE VIRGIN APPEARING TO ST. BERNARD

BY FILIPPINO LIPPI

From a picture in the Church of the Badia, Florence



A PORTRAIT

By FILIPPINO LIPPI

From a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine, Florence

Fra Bartolommeo. The two angels at the Virgin's side evincing a childish and simple curiosity, the Virgin herself, remind us of Fra Filippo, not only in the definition of the lines and the slender proportions, but in the spirit of the conception and the movement of the draperies. Brethren of the order, wondering as they look towards heaven or communicate the miracle to each other; two chained and vanquished devils behind St. Bernard, assist the development of the story. The picture undoubtedly claims for Filippino the position of a painter in his prime, whilst the feeling and character which it discloses seem affected by a tendency to realism, effaced to some extent in the great wall-paintings of the Brancacci, where we may suppose the artist to have felt the necessity of striving for a higher mark, in order worthily to rival the greatness of Masaccio. The mannered turn of some of the lines, whilst it recalls the style of Fra Filippo, is also reminiscent of that of Botticelli, and foreshadows the exaggeration observable later in Raffaellino del Garbo. In the use of his colours Filippino is abundant, and carefully fuses a somewhat raw flesh tone into lucid silver-grey shadows without glazing. His method is tempera, carried out almost like oil painting, in a manner remarkable in some pictures of Botticelli, bright and clear, but gay to a fault in the changing hues of the draperies. No truer or more real portrait can be conceived than that of Francesco¹ del Pugliese.²

The same freshness, the same grace of forms and types, undisturbed by the exaggerated development of extremities peculiar to Filippino's later manner, great minuteness and taste in ornament, mark an altarpiece, apparently of this time,³ in S. Michele

* ¹ Not Francesco, but Piero di Francesco.

* ² Another picture of this period executed for the Ferrantini family, and representing St. Jerome, was of old in the Badia, but is not now known to exist. *Vide* VASARI, iii., p. 475.

* This picture is in the Galleria d' Arte Antica e Moderna (No. 91) at Florence. One of the coats-of-arms on the picture is of the Ferrantini family. According to Puccinelli's chronicle of the convent, it was executed in 1480. The authors give this picture to Andrea del Castagno, but it is by Filippino. See SUPINO, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

* ³ This picture is certainly of an earlier date than 1487 (see BERENSON, *The Drawings*, etc., p. 75). At the Lucca Academy is a picture of that date which has reminiscences of Fra Filippo.

of Lucca, representing SS. Roch, Sebastian, Jerome, and Helena, in a meadow richly decked with flowers.¹

Whilst the earliest examples of Filippino thus demonstrate that the models upon which he based his style are those of his father, modified with some less marked peculiarities of Botticelli's manner, the wall-paintings of the Brancacci chapel reveal with still greater clearness the direction of his education. Lower in the scale of art than Masaccio, to whom he succeeds, Filippino still worthily fills the arduous task imposed on him. If he fails to conceive or to dispose his subjects and groups with the massive grandeur of his precursor; if the distribution of his general lines produces a less harmonious result, and proves that he had not the consummate art of placing the dramatis personæ in their perfect relative proportions on their various planes; if he has less power in the rendering of light and shade and atmosphere; if he sacrifices the mass in some measure to detail, and prefers a mannered imitation of natural and unselect parts to the simplicity afforded by the choice of noble and select form, he still holds his own, even as against Masaccio. He possesses a bold vigour of hand and remarkable skill in action, a striking resolution in the build and expression of his figures, and a great individuality in their features. He creates with realistic truth, and exhibits that tendency to flatness of surfaces in flesh and in drapery which precludes perfect rotundity and massive light and shade; and these are features which he derives from the teaching of Fra Filippo. He is at a disadvantage, too, as a colourist; for, though he uses more impasto than Masaccio, his tones are not so clear or light and his modelling is not so perfect.

It is perhaps needless after this to discuss a question raised in modern times, namely, whether Fra Filippo be not the author of the Brancacci frescoes and whether Filippino ever worked there at

¹ To the left St. Roch, youthful, turns towards St. Sebastian on his right, who holds an arrow. Next him is St. Jerome, in thought, recalling the type of St. Peter in the Liberation of St. Peter at the Brancacci chapel, and with a lion at his side. By his side St. Helena with a long cross; distance, a landscape. This picture is noticed in VASARI (*Comm. to Life of S. Botticelli*, iii., p. 331) as a creation of the latter. It hangs on the second altar to the right of the high portal. * It is now in the chapel to the left of the transept.

all. This question has been answered by at least one writer in favour of Fra Filippo,¹ but the friar's style is clear enough to an artistic eye, and is not to be found at the Brancacci. We have already stated that the visit of Paul to Peter and the Liberation are Filippino's earliest frescoes. We may add that the figures in these compositions are his best and less marked by the unfavourable features of his manner than any of the rest. St. Paul, a splendid creation, is coloured with more than usual brilliancy and thrown off with a spirit almost equal to that of Masaccio.² The angel has a fine slender shape which reminds us of those of Fra Filippo, whilst the type of his face discloses the mere germ of subsequent defects in a certain squareness and tendency to vulgarity. The sleeping sentry, outside, is also fine. Colour, however, is already of the dull tinge familiar to us in works of Botticelli.³

The composition of St. Peter and St. Paul before the Proconsul is that which proves Filippino's inferiority to Masaccio in the art of distribution. The *dramatis personæ* are inharmoniously put together; but the breadth of the execution, the dignity of the types, which, though realistic, are still noble, the boldness of the action, and the varied movement and expression are admirable.⁴

¹ This theory has been developed by CESARE BERNASCONI in *Studi*, 8vo, Verona, 1859, pp. 11 and following. But the works of Filippino have also been assigned frequently to Masaccio (see RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii., p. 250), especially that portion of the fresco facing the resurrection of the boy, in which St. Peter and Paul appear before the Proconsul. ALBERTINI, whose *Memoriale* appeared five years after the death of Filippino, assigns the Crucifixion to him, and forgets the other episode in the same compartment (*vide Mem.*, p. 16). There is a long lapse of time between the period when Masaccio ceased to work and Filippino began his labours. The features marked in the painting of the two men are different. The part not by Filippino has all the character of a series executed in rapid succession. Between it and that of Filippino we note the lapse of time and a newer art. Why then should we refuse the conclusion which the paintings distinctly give us?

² The dress of St. Peter is discoloured and shows the ashen preparation. The fresco is marked 3 in the plan (see in Masaccio, i.). It is assigned properly by VASARI in his first edition to Filippino (*vide Com.* to VASARI, ii., p. 308, and iii., p. 483).

³ This fresco is No. 4 in plan (i., Masaccio). It is not noticed by VASARI.

⁴ This and the Crucifixion (No. 5 of plan) are assigned properly to Filippino in VASARI's first edition. See *Com.* in VASARI, ii., p. 308.

The Crucifixion of Peter, better composed than the corresponding group of the apostles before the Proconsul, has not a link to bind it with the rest of the picture, and the grandeur of the whole is sacrificed to the working out of subordinate and independent groups. Detail overwhelms the mass, and we notice a flatter surface, an absence of plastic relief and chiaroscuro which were combined in Ghirlandaio, and which, with the assistance of Fra Bartolommeo, were carried to perfection by Raphael.¹ The figures are undeniably true as portraying nature in resolute and bold action, but giving to demonstrative gesture and expression little more than mobility and freedom, not the impression of high dignity. The principle is the same even in detail, and we note a complete want of selection in the muscular frames, articulations, and extremities, the draperies are overabundant,² the high surface colour is unglazed, of another texture, and of more sharply contrasted keys than that of Masaccio, the landscape has less depth and atmosphere and is more minutely defined.

That portion of the Resurrection of the Boy which Masaccio left incomplete is finished in the same style as the rest of the series,³ and exhibits the newer, the more advanced, but less noble, art of Filippino. If it be true that many of the personages depicted in these frescoes are portraits, and that we are to consider those which tradition so describes as likenesses taken at the time of Filippino's actual labour, we may conclude that he finished the Brancacci Chapel between 1482 and 1490.

The son of the king, restored to life by St. Peter, is the portrait of Granacci,⁴ who was born in 1477, and looks as if he had reached his sixteenth or seventeenth year. Messer Soderini, whose head is the first from the left side of the same fresco, is known to have died in 1485.⁵

¹ The crucified Peter is, however, a well-studied natural nude. Great nature is also in the figures about the cross, in those to the right especially, amongst which, one with his back to the spectator is repeated with little variation in Andrea del Sarto's fresco at the SS. Annunziata in Florence.

² They have at the same time little relief by light and shade.

³ This part, and four portraits at the left side of the fresco, are marked 1 and 2 in No. 9 of the plan, which is to be found at page 44. VASARI distinctly assigns these parts to Filippino, iii., p. 462.

⁴ VASARI, iii., p. 462.

⁵ VASARI, ii., p. 319.

The poet Luigi Pulci, to the right of Soderini and recognisable by the likeness to a portrait of him in the Uffizi,¹ died in 1484; and if the two at each side of the monk's head, already shown to be by Masaccio, be Piero del Pugliese and Piero Guicciardini, these were alive in 1490.² The portrait of Antonio Pollaiuolo is on the right hand of the proconsul, that of Botticelli, as already stated, in the group of St. Peter's crucifixion. The wood-cut which Vasari gives of Filippino is taken from the figure on the extreme right of the fresco of the apostles before the proconsul, who may be between twenty-five and thirty; and if Vasari's statement as to his age in 1505 be correct,³ the foregoing dates are again confirmed. It may be noted at the same time that a portrait assigned to Masaccio in the Uffizi,⁴ and painted in the style of Filippino, is like that supposed to represent Filippino at the Carmine, younger perhaps, but technically handled in the manner of the frescoes, ex. gr. like the sleeping soldier in the Liberation. Another portrait in the Torrigiani Gallery, and assigned there to Masaccio,⁵ is also in Filippino's manner, but bears no resemblance as regards features to that of the Uffizi.

Long before 1490 Filippino was an artist of name in Florence. In 1482, though absent, he was appointed substitute to Pietro Perugino for adorning one of the halls of the Palazzo Pubblico.⁶ In 1485 he finished for the Hall of the Otto in the Palazzo the great altarpiece now at the Uffizi.⁷ It represents the Virgin of slender and graceful shape affectionately holding the Infant, who grasps a book, and looking towards a fine St. Victor. Three other saints, and two angels, supporting a festoon of flowers above the group, form a picture without excess of mannerism in design and equal in precision of drawing or freshness of colour to the vision

* ¹ This portrait is in the corridor that leads to the Pitti Palace, but it cannot be proved that it represents Pulci.

² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

* ³ VASARI, iii., pp. 475-6. Filippino died, however, on April 18th, 1504.

⁴ No. 286, and see *antea*. * [This portrait is now held to be an auto-portrait of Filippino.]

⁵ See *antea*, i., p. 547.

⁶ GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., p. 579.

⁷ The picture, No. 1,268, of Uffizi (wood-figure over life-size) is inscribed ANNO SALVTIS MCCCCLXXXV. DIE XX. FEBRVARI, but see GAYE, i., pp. 579 and following. At the Virgin's sides are SS. Victor, John the Baptist, Bernard and Zenobius. Above are the arms of Florence. See also VASARI, iii., p. 474.

of St. Bernard in the Badia.¹ Equally striking for the qualities which mark the painter's prime is the altarpiece of the Cappella Nerli in S. Spirito at Florence, in which we observe a charming variety of episode and a grandeur rarely exceeded by Filippino. Nothing can be more pretty in conception or Raffaelesque in feeling than the Virgin enthroned in an interior with the Infant on her knee, taking a cross presented to him by the youthful Baptist; and were it not for some want of selection in the types, the group would be perfect. The Virgin's glance is turned towards St. Catherine, who tenderly recommends the kneeling wife of Tanai de' Nerli.² He also kneels on the opposite side, introduced by St. Martin in episcopals; and the distance, seen through an arcade, shows the city of Florence in the direction of the S. Frediano gate. No portraits of this time are more admirable than those of the Nerli. Filippino never outlined simpler or grander drapery. His precision in defining form is admirable—his ability in depicting populous life in distance astonishing for its realistic truth; his colour, though raw, is modelled with great breadth. Amidst Filippino's numerous commissions at this time³ we have authentic record of one which was to make the Strozzi chapel at S. Maria Novella in 1487 worthy of the wealth and taste of Filippo, the chief of that house.⁴ Filippino admits in a letter written from Rome on the 2nd of May, 1489, the debt of kindness and of gratitude which he owes to this nobleman, excusing himself for neglecting his commission by saying that he is busy in the service of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, as good a patron as any man can desire, and describing the richness of the decorations with which he is adorning his chapel.⁵ This letter is of great

* ¹ The picture for the Sala degli Otto was first entrusted to Piero Pollaiuolo in 1478. Eight days afterwards to Leonardo da Vinci, who, for thirty-five florins, made the cartoon. That Filippino made use of this cartoon, as the Anonimo Gaddiano states and the authors are inclined in part to believe (see the Italian edition of this work, vol. vii., 20), cannot be regarded as certain.

² She kneels on the right; Tanai on the left.

* ³ We know, for example, that in 1488 (the probable date of the altarpiece of S. Spirito) Filippino had executed two pictures for Matthias Corvinus.

⁴ The adornment of the Strozzi chapel was entrusted to Filippino on the 21st of April, 1487. See note to VASARI, iii., p. 471.

⁵ This letter is in *Alcuni documenti, Nozze Farinola Vai*, u.s., pp. 15-16.



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS

By FILIPPINO LIPPI

From an altarpiece in the Church of S. Spirito, Florence

interest as proving the exact time when Filippino painted the wall pictures at S. Maria sopra Minerva,¹ and fixes the period when, passing through Spoleto, he erected a monument at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici to the pictorial virtues of Fra Filippo.²

In the scenes from the legend of St. Thomas Aquinas, of which a part is still in a double course on the walls of the Cappella Caraffa,³ Filippino represents the miracle of the crucifix so as to prove that, if he had not been occasionally careless, he might have permanently mastered the laws of great composition. He depicts the saint's triumph over the heretic disputers with less successful distribution and with a breadth of hand and freedom of execution verging upon the looser manner of a later time.

In the first of these subjects, St. Thomas kneels in ecstasy before the crucifix, having just heard the words spoken by the martyred Saviour: "Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma." Two angels attend the saint; and the stupor caused by the miracle is well expressed by the action and expression of a monk, by the eagerness with which a youth surprises an incomer in relating the fact. The idea of fear is further carried out by collateral incidents; and a boy frightened by the baying of a dog drops his bread to the ground in the arcades of the distance. By the side of the conversing group, two females stand listening. A youth coming down a flight of steps, arched spaces in good architectural taste, and in fair perspective, through which a landscape and a distant city are visible, complete the picture.

Filippino never showed more ability in distribution than when he conceived and carried out this well-balanced composition in which great boldness is displayed. He realises the chief incident and the episodes subordinate to it with truth and nature, and with an animation and movement more marked than Ghirlandaio's at the Sixtine. His colour, too, is coolly harmonious.

* ¹ More details of Filippino's life at this time we find in a letter of Cardinal Caraffa. Filippino arrived in Rome August 27th, 1488. He was warmly recommended to the Cardinal by Lorenzo the Magnificent. In September he left for Florence, from which place, after he had made a will, he returned at once to Rome to begin his work there. MILANESI in VASARI, iii., pp. 468-9 note.

² VASARI, iii., p. 467.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

Beneath the foregoing which fills the lunette of the wall to the right of the entrance, St. Thomas, enthroned between his allegorical supporters, Philosophy, Theology, and two others, tramples on a fallen heretic and enjoys the prospect of Arius, Sabellius, and Averroes, prostrate on the foreground, whilst various groups are scattered around in the space enclosed by arches.¹

In another part of the chapel a fresco in the form of an altarpiece represents the Annunciation, with St. Thomas introducing Cardinal Caraffa, the whole injured by repainting. Above this, again, the Virgin ascends to heaven surrounded by angels in the garland form already noticed in Botticelli. Four sibyls in the ceiling which, Vasari says, were painted by Rafaellino del Garbo, are, like the ascending Virgin, so injured by retouching as to forbid comment. The rest of the spaces no longer contain pictures.²

We might judge of the time which Filippino took in the adornment of this chapel by a brief of Pope Alexander the Sixth, issued on the 19th of May, 1493, in which Cardinal Caraffa's request, that Alexander the Sixth should honour it with his presence on completion, is contained;³ but we have certain proof that he was at Florence before this time in a record of 1491 frequently quoted in these pages, in which Filippino appears at Florence to furnish a design for the front of Santa Maria del Fiore.⁴

He had scarcely returned to Florence when Filippo Strozzi his patron was carried off by death; nor do we find that he was then required to perform his promise of painting the chapel at S. M. Novella.⁵ His next work in date is the altarpiece ordered for the brotherhood of S. Francesco del Palco at Prato. A petition of this poor fraternity, which is still extant under the

¹ This fresco has a long split in it to the right, and is further injured by extensive repainting.

² These frescoes are noticed and praised by ALBERTINI in *Opusculum*, u. s., p. 50. He says too (*ibid.*, p. 49 verso) that Filippino painted in the Sistine chapel. If he did, no traces of his work are preserved.

³ See the record in note to VASARI, iii., p. 468.

⁴ VASARI, iv., p. 306.

⁵ The will of Filippo Strozzi dated 1491 (in GAYE, *Carteg.*, i., p. 359) provides for the completion of the chapel, but no doubt time was required for raising funds in the manner intended by the testator.

date of June 19th, 1491,¹ is not only interesting because it elucidates an incident in the artistic life of Filippino and Domenico Ghirlandaio, but because it throws a gleam of light upon the customs of the time. The brethren humbly submit to the municipal council, that the want of an altarpiece is a serious injury to their worship. They describe their efforts to subscribe a sufficient sum for one which they have ordered of Domenico Ghirlandaio for thirty-five ducats, lament their inability to raise more than twenty ducats, and beg that the difference may be given to them out of the funds of the town treasury. This petition was heard, and it was proposed that twenty ducats should be assigned to the brotherhood out of the public money. Ghirlandaio, however, is not known to have carried out the commission which was entrusted about 1495 to Filippino.² The altarpiece, representing the Resurrection and the appearance of the Saviour to the Virgin, is now in the Munich Gallery and is a fine one of Filippino.³

A year later he completed the altarpiece of S. Donato a Scopeto, now in the Uffizi at Florence,⁴ in which he rivalled

¹ The petition in full is in the *Prato Catalogue*, u.s., pp. 36-7.

² *Catalogue of Prato*, u.s., p. 16. See also VASARI, iii., p. 465.

* Filippino's picture at Munich comes from Prato, and was, perhaps, executed in 1495; but it was not made for the friars of the Zoccolo al Palco; nor is it that which was entrusted to Ghirlandaio, for we know that in that picture was the Madonna and four saints, and that on December 17th, 1492, after its completion, payment was made to David Ghirlandaio, who had collaborated with Domenico. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 465, note 2.

³ Christ appears to the Virgin with the marks of the crucifixion upon him. The Eternal looks down from heaven, where he appears between five cherubim. Below, Christ rises from the sepulchre, supported by angels and attended by SS. Francis, Dominic, and Augustine; Monica, Chiara, and Celestin. [* The saints are St. Francis, St. Louis of Toulouse, S. Bernardino of Siena, St. Dominic, St. Clare, and St. Catherine of Siena.] The picture is well preserved. It is catalogued Saal, viii., No. 1,008, wood, 5 ft. 10 in. high by 4 ft. 7 in.

⁴ No. 1,257, wood, figures under life-size, with these words on the back of the panel: FILIPPVS ME PINSIT DE LIPIS FLORENTINVS ADDI 29 DI MA(R)ZO 1496. See also VASARI, iii., p. 473, who says that the figure bearing a quadrant is Pier Francesco de' Medici, and that, besides, there are portraits here of Giovanni Vecchio de Medici and his brother Pier Francesco.

* The documents confirm that which we are told by the Anonimo Magliabechiano, that is, that the uncompleted Adoration of Leonardo, commissioned in 1481, was

Fra Filippo in the pyramidal arrangement of an Adoration of the Magi. A pleasing impression is created not only by the distribution of the figures in the system before alluded to, but because that system is carried out under the condition of introducing upwards of thirty figures, each of which contributes by its action and movement to the general harmony of the lines; whilst the variety of race, the realism of various faces and forms, and the animation of expression and motion, contribute to the comparative perfection of the whole, developing all the branches of progress peculiar to the Florentine school of the time and carrying out rules introduced by Fra Filippo and improved by Fra Bartolommeo.

We may remark how the leading principle on which the picture is arranged is illustrated by the two Magi kneeling at the Virgin's feet; and the pyramid is capped by St. Joseph looking over her. The same lines are doubled as it were by the groups on the right which are terminated in alt by one climbing a wall to overlook the scene, whilst a couple have reached the favourable height, and convey the intelligence of what they see to those beneath them. Equally happy episodes fill up the opposite side of the picture. One of the kings pauses to let the crown be removed from his head; eager spectators are behind him, and the horses of the cavalcade are walked or trotted round in the distance. This masterpiece may compare with that of Leonardo representing the same subject hard by—whilst it reminds us by the abundance of its figures, and the liveliness of its incident and action, of the Adoration of the Magi by Sandro Botticelli, proving that he and Filippino derived the principles on which these works were produced from Fra Filippo. Yet if we attentively consider Filippino's admirable creation of 1496, we find it much more loosely executed than the Madonna of 1485, and we mark the presence of that fatal facility which mars the less conscientious works of a still later period.

destined for the same high altar of S. Donato a Scopeto, above which stood later the altarpiece of Filippino. (See MESNIL, in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, pp. 100-2, and POGGI, *ibid.*, 1910, p. 92.) The authors note several particulars in which the altarpiece of Filippino was influenced by that of Leonardo. (See the Italian edition of this work, vii., p. 55.)

Time elapsed, however, before the master finally yielded to the charm of working fast. He exhausted, in 1498, all the feeling and grace with which he was supplied in a tabernacle at Prato,¹ on the sides of which he depicted in fresco a Madonna with angels and saints, of life-size, in a throne enriched with fanciful ornament combining the antique with the grotesque. The grace which adorns the thin face and shape of the Virgin reminds us of that which beams in the Madonna of Fra Bartolommeo; and the combination of curious and capricious forms of ornament, the cento of living heads, masks, and monsters with architectural curves in the ornamental part illustrate an original fancy in Filippino, and recall purer forms of the same kind in the youth of Michael Angelo, the manhood of Mantegna or Piero della Francesca.² The colour, in such parts as have been preserved, is liquid and transparent and of a rosy tone.

Between the date of this tabernacle and that of the altarpiece of the Scopetini, two interesting incidents mark the painter's life. In 1497 (January 19th) he joined other great artists of the time in valuing Baldovinetti's fresco in the Gianfigliazzi chapel at S. Trinità of Florence,³ and he thus appears in the character of umpire by the side of Perugino and Cosimo Rosselli. In 1497 he married, and a son of that marriage, Francesco di Filippo, owed the friendship of Benvenuto Cellini to the number of studies of Roman antiques, which had fallen as heirlooms to him after the death of Filippino, and which Benvenuto, no doubt, exhausted for his own use.⁴

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 466.

² The tabernacle is on the old Canto al Mercatale at Prato, now the corner of the Strada di S. Margherita. The Virgin, erect, holds the Infant with one hand and presents the orb to him with the other. The outlines of the figure alone remain, the blue of the dress being abraded and leaving the white of the wall bare. (It is said this was done of old for the sake of the high-priced blue.) The Infant, looking round, glances at St. Catherine on the right, who kneels, with St. Stephen erect behind her. St. Margaret, with whom is St. Anthony the abbot, kneels on the opposite side. The whole fresco is enclosed in a frame imitating carved stone with arabesques on a yellow ground. The following inscription is divided and may be read in parts above the saints at the sides: A. D. MCCCCLXXXVIII. Parts of colour here and there are gone, but no restoring has taken place.

³ See *Alcuni documenti*, u.s., p. 18, and MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 55.

⁴ *Vide* note to VASARI, iii., p. 476. The name of Filippino's wife was Maddalena di Pietro Paolo Monti.

There is a very characteristic production of this year in the gallery of Copenhagen—a meeting of Joachim and Anna, remarkable for shortness of stature and coarse type, as well as for conventional drawing in the figures.¹

A commission for an altarpiece in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, finished in 1510 by Fra Bartolommeo, was also given to Filippino in 1498.² In 1499 he surrendered to Leonardo “with great courtesy” an order to paint the altarpiece of the high altar at the Servi.³ But the most interesting incident with which his name is connected at this time is the fall of a thunderbolt in 1498. During a storm, which spent some of its fury on the city of Florence, the lantern above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore was struck by lightning, and it became necessary to take active steps for its repair. The question of cost, of fitness, and of means was of such importance that Simone Pollaiuolo, who then held the office of superintendent in the cathedral, durst not settle it on his own responsibility. A meeting of grandees, architects, and painters was accordingly convoked in June, 1498, and we find sitting at the same assembly Filippino, Perugino, and Lorenzo di Credi.⁴

Filippino's Virgin and Child between the kneeling Baptist and St. Stephen, ordered for the commune of Prato in 1501 and finished in 1503, is in too bad a condition to justify any authoritative opinion,⁵ but the frescoes, which the heirs of Filippo Strozzi at last succeeded in urging Filippino to complete, are in exist-

¹ Copenhagen Gallery, No. 39. Wood, half life-size, from the collection of Cardinal Valenti, inscribed MCCCCLXXXVII. PHILIPPINUS DE FLORENTIA, tempera, injured by old cleanings and restoring. To the right an escutcheon of modern date painted in oil. Two females accompany Anna; a shepherd stands to the right behind Joachim.

² See record of 1501-2 as to this picture, in VASARI, v., p. 351, where payments are made for a frame to Bartolommeo d'Agnolo. See also VASARI, iii., p. 475.

³ VASARI, iv., p. 38.

⁴ See C. GUASTI, *La Cupola d. S. M. del Fiore*, 8vo, Flor., 1857, pp. 119-20.

⁵ This is a lunette inscribed on a frame feigning a painted relief: VT MEVS HIC NATVS JVS TVS: SERVATE FREQUENTER. SIC VOS JVS TITIAM PAVPERIBVSQVE PIL. A. D. MCCCCCIII. The Virgin's head is injured. The Baptist's red dress scaled off. The green dress of the Virgin is new, the nimbuses yellow. The picture is now No. 16 in the gallery of Prato, and the records referring to it are in the appendix to the *Catalogue*, u.s. See also VASARI, iii., p. 465.

ence, and prove what has already been said of the painter's decline.

Before describing these, however, we may glance at a picture of 1501 in which that decline is already apparent. It is in S. Domenico at Bologna in the chapel of the Isolani family.¹ St. Catherine kneels at the Virgin's throne and receives the ring from the infant Saviour in the presence of SS. Paul and Sebastian, SS. Peter and John the Baptist—of St. Joseph who looks from the distance, whilst the Eternal and angels hover above in the central sky and on the summits of edifices forming a rich perspective of architecture. The demonstrative part taken by the saints in the ceremony is not more clearly characteristic of Filippino than the mannered realism of the drawing, especially in the muscularly developed nude of St. Sebastian, whose appearance, bound and stuck with arrows, adds to the mystic symbolism of the subject. Less care in execution, harder tones, and a comparative absence of taste are characteristic of a picture which still carries with it the stamp of a great artist.

The taste displayed in the Strozzi chapel is more doubtful still; and Filippino is no longer merely fanciful in ornament and painted architecture.

The resurrection of Drusiana, the torment of St. John by boiling oil, fill one side of the chapel. St. Philip destroying the idols and the crucifixion of that saint are depicted on the other. The figure of Drusiana rising on her tressel at the prayer of the Evangelist is not devoid of feeling, and there is a stern gravity in St. John. The bystanders are well grouped behind him, and great realism marks a frightened man in the distance—a woman and a priest, carrying a vase, whilst an octagon temple² in the background to the right aptly suggests the pagan time. The saint boiling gave Filippino occasion to express,

¹ On a card in the foreground which is a red and somewhat repainted pavement are the words: OPVS PHILIPPINI. FLOR. PICT. A. S. MCCCCOI. The blue dress of S. Catherine is in part new. The picture was known to VASARI (iii., p. 467).

* ² On two pilasters of this temple is the inscription A.S. MCCCCII PHILIPPINUS DE PHILIPPIS FACIEBAT. The frescoes were completed in 1502, after having been recommenced in 1500. The portion that was first executed, in 1487, is the vault with the four imposing figures of Adam, Noah, Jacob, and Abraham, and it is this part of the decoration of the chapel that is best alike in quality and condition.

as Vasari says,¹ the anger of the judge and the reverberation of the fire on the faces of the executioners. St. Philip, destroying the idols, appears with the cross in his hand, and by the virtue of that symbol crushes a monster whose death-struggle frightens a boy into the arms of his mother, who stands amongst the priests and servants of an idol depicted in the middle of the space with a cat and a parrot in its grasp. Priests and soldiers on the left are filled with anger and despair. Slaves, lamps, trophies are intended to convey the aspect of a heathen temple.

In the martyrdom, Filippino chooses the moment when St. Philip having been nailed to the cross, the instrument is raised with cords by figures, whose action is duly praised by Vasari. The ornamented architecture in monochrome is a mixture of the sacred and profane, in which faith and charity are allegorically depicted by the side of tragedy. In the ceiling are patriarchs with their symbols, in various movements, and in the stained window a Virgin between angels, the Evangelist, and St. Philip.

The decoration of the Strozzi chapel is a grotesque and capricious mixture of exaggerated movements, actions, and forms—of strange architecture surcharged with ornament of colour gay to extravagance where preserved. It fails for that reason to please, yet it reveals the close of the career of a great painter.²

The latest authentic record which we possess of Filippino is an opinion given, in conjunction with that of twenty other painters, as to the place best suited for Michael Angelo's David.³ The meeting which took place for that purpose was called in 1503—the same year in which Filippino composed for Napoleone Lomellini the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, now above the altar of San Teodore at Genoa.⁴ This picture, one of the large and important ones of the master, has been greatly injured by repaints, but it was powerfully executed in the affected style of his later period.⁵

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 472. *Vide also* ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, u.s., p. 14.

² The frescoes are totally injured by repainting.

³ GAYE, u.s., ii., p. 460.

⁴ This picture is now in the Palazzo Bianco.

⁵ Genoa, San Teodore. [* Now in the Palazzo Bianco.] St. Sebastian stands on a pedestal between St. John the Baptist and St. Frances, pointing to the wound in his side. In a lunette is a half-length of the Virgin and Child between two angels—on the base of the pillar against which the martyr stands are the words AD

After this we know of nothing that Filippino undertook except the altarpiece on the high altar of the Servi at Florence, which Leonardo had promised but omitted to paint, and which Filippino began in 1503, and left unfinished two years later.¹

Filippino died on the 18th of April, 1504,² and was buried in S. Michele Bisdomini at Florence.

A list of works unnoticed in the foregoing remarks follows:

FLORENCE, *Corsini Gallery*. Round. The Virgin, erect, holds the Infant, who takes flowers from a basin in the hands of an angel. Another angel approaches with flowers, whilst three more kneel singing. The youthful St. John is seen coming forward through the landscape, which is a little embrowned by restoring. A youthful delicacy and freshness are in this piece, which is of a soft, bright, and clear tempera reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo.³

FLORENCE, *Pitti Gallery*. No. 347. Wood, braccia 2.1.6 high by 2.1.6. Round. The Infant lies on the ground and is adored by the Virgin, youthful Baptist, and four boyish angels. Another of these throws flowers. The group is enclosed in a space surrounded by a balustrade parting the fore and middle ground from a distance of hills. This piece, which pleases at first sight, will not bear close inspection, as it wants the finish and feeling noticeable in Filippino. It reminds one of the rounds by Botticelli without being assignable to him either. It is a production of some subordinate, whose works may presently be adverted to.⁴

FLORENCE, *same gallery*. No. 388. Wood, braccia 0.14.2 high by 2.3.0. Death of Lucretia. This picture, composed of small figures, bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo and may be by Filippino.⁵

MCCCCCHII PHILIPPINUS FLORENTINUS FACIEBAT, and on the pedestal IMP. DIO MAX NAPOLEONIS LOMELLINI PROPRIETAS. The outlines of the St. Sebastian are all covered with new paint, which even conceals part of the date in the pillar, and the rest is all more or less retouched.

¹ Florence Academy of Arts, No. 98. The subject is the deposition from the cross; and the principal figure, together with that of the people taking down the body, seems Filippino's; the rest, including the fainting Virgin and the saints about her, is by Perugino. The commission to Filippino is dated 1503. See Com., VASARI, note to vi., p. 433. VASARI, iii., p. 475, and ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, p. 13.

² VASARI (iii., p. 476) April 13th, 1505.

³ This picture comes from the Medici Villa at Careggi.

⁴ This picture is evidently a work of Francesco Botticini.

⁵ This is a school picture.

FLORENCE, *S. M. Novella*. Inside and above the chief portal. Nativity, much injured fresco, of old on the altar to the right of portal, is painted in a style between that of Filippino and that of Botticelli, with an inspiration from the manner of Fra Filippo.¹

FLORENCE, *S. Martino delle Monache*. Lunette, Annunciation, in the passage from the convent to the church, totally repainted, but still with traces of the hand of Filippino.

FLORENCE, *Casa Pucci*. Round of the Virgin, between St. Catherine and St. Mary Magdalen. See *postea*, in Rafaellino del Garbo.

GENOA, *Galleria Balbi*. Communion of St. Jerome. The saint kneels supported by two monks, whilst a third gives him the host. Two novices are in attendance with tapers. Above the altar is the crucified Saviour between two palms. Small panel. Palms $1\frac{3}{4}$ high by $1\frac{1}{2}$, well preserved, firmly executed, and of an olive tone. This piece might almost be assigned to Botticelli, it has so many points that recall that painter. Yet it is probably by Filippino when he was Botticelli's disciple—a replica of the same size in Casa Zino Capponi, at Florence, already known to Mr. O. Mündler (*Zeitschr. für Bild. K. Zur. Band II., Heft 279*), is more in the character of Filippino than the original in Casa Balbi. Yet it is catalogued as by A. del Castagno.²

S. GIMIGNANO, *Gallery of the Palazzo Pubblico*. Two rounds of the Virgin, and of the Angel Annunciate (half life-size); fine works of Filippino.³

PISTOIA, *Late Puccini Collection*. Small Annunciation: the Virgin sitting, the angel kneeling. In the background the bed, candles, etc., a pretty and not too vulgar picture of the master.⁴

NAPLES, *Palazzo Santangelo*. Round, figures all but life-size. Holy family. The Virgin holds the Infant, who caresses the youthful Baptist, supported by St. Margaret. To the left is St. Joseph. In front on a parapet is the little St. John's reed cross. A pilaster behind Joseph is ornamented with carving; on the spandrel a coat of arms. Distance, a town, water, sky, and clouds, somewhat injured. This piece, mis-called Ghirlandaio, is by Filippino. The feeling in the Virgin's head, the fresh and somewhat entire colour, the free execution, reveal Filip-

¹ When in its original place, this fresco was above an Ecce Homo which has since perished.

² See a note in the chapter on Botticelli, p. 270, note.

³ These two tondi are probably school pictures.

⁴ This is perhaps identical with a picture in the Stroganoff Collection at St. Petersburg.

pino's talent about the time of the Nerli altarpiece and the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi.¹

VENICE, *Gallery of the Seminario*. (1) The Samaritan woman at the well, beneath which is a monochrome of two angels holding a scroll; (2) *Noli me tangere*, with a similar monochrome. These are two beautiful and perfectly preserved specimens of Filippino strangely enough catalogued under the name of Gio. Battista Cresspi.

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,009. *Saal VIII*. Wood, 7 ft. 10 in. high by 6 ft. 1 in. broad. Assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino, the dead Saviour on the Virgin's knees between St. John the Baptist and the kneeling St. John Evangelist (left), the Magdalen kissing the feet of the corpse, and St. James erect. Distance, landscape with angels above.²

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 78. Wood, 1 ft. 4 in. high by 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. tempera. Portrait of a youth ($\frac{3}{4}$), much injured by old restoring, but by the master.³

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 82. Wood, 2 ft. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 1 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., from the Solly collection. Virgin and Child somewhat feeble example of the master, defective in drapery and mannered.

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 101. Wood, 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Same subject. Mannered style of Filippino's decline.

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 1134. Round. Wood, 2 ft. 9 in. diameter, for the Solly collection. A much-injured Virgin and Child, which cannot be assigned to Filippino, but has the manner of a Florentine not a pupil of the master.

BERLIN, *same gallery*. No. 96. Wood, 6 ft. 5 in. high by 5 ft. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., from the Solly collection. The Saviour on the cross between three angels. Below, SS. Mary and Francis, on gold ground, an injured picture of the master,⁴ the Virgin full of feeling.

DRESDEN, *Gallery*. No. 35. Wood, 1 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high by 1 ft. 3 in. Virgin and Child, by some inferior painter imitating the manner of Raffaellino del Garbo.

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 293. Wood, 6 ft. 9 in. high by 6 ft. 1 in. Predella, 8 in. high by 7 ft. 9 in. The Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Jerome and Dominic. On the predella the dead Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathea, St. Francis and the Magdalen, half-lengths, at each side. This piece, originally belonging

*¹ This is now in the Warren collection, Boston, U.S.A.

*² Rightly given to Filippino in 1908 catalogue.

*³ This picture is now given to Botticelli.

*⁴ Originally in S. Raffaello at Florence, afterwards in S. Procolo. See VASARI, iii., pp. 464-5, and notes of commentators.

to the Rucellai, bears their arms and was of old in S. Pancrazio at Florence.¹ The Virgin and Child recall Filippino's in the Adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The St. Jerome beating his breast is already a little mannered, but the action is bold and resolute. The colour is entire and bright, and the landscape splendid.

LONDON, *same gallery*. No. 592. Wood, 1 ft. 8 in. high by 4 ft. 7 in. Adoration of the Magi, somewhat damaged and originally part of a painted chest. The composition is crowded with people and excessively rich, the tempera soft and a little darkened by time. The style of drawing and mode of rendering form are grand, as in the fresco in the Prato tabernacle. Some figures in the distance to the left recall Botticelli's creations; yet the picture is rightly assigned to Filippino.²

LONDON, *same gallery*. No. 598. Wood, 1 ft. 7½ in. high by 1 ft. ½ in. From the Costabili collection at Ferrara. St. Francis in Glory, dated 1492, with five playing angels at each side, is a genuine picture not free from the defects and affections of the master's later time.

LIVERPOOL, *Walker Art Gallery*. No. 20. A Virgin and Child.

LONDON, *The late Beriah Botfield, Esq.* Exhibited at Manchester under No. 115. Virgin and Child of a later period than that of Filippino.

LONDON, *Formerly at Dudley House*. Crucifixion and Virgin and Child, both in character of Filippino's school.³

OXFORD, *Christ Church Gallery*. In this gallery is a panel partly finished but ill preserved, representing allegory on one side of the panel, a centaur carrying a quiver, a female centaur with her brood in a cave, and a female bound to a tree; on the other side, three females with various emblems. These are partly in outline and partly painted in, here and there retouched. The character is that of Filippino and Botticelli, but more Filippino than Botticelli.⁴

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 464.

² In common with many other critics of Italian painting, we regard this picture as an early work of Botticelli.

³ The following is a list of pictures not known to exist at the present time:—San Donato (ALBERTINI, *Memoriale*, p. 17). S. Francesco fuori porta a S. Miniato, Florence. The Eternal and Children (VASARI, iii., p. 465). Lucca, S. Ponziano, tavola surrounding a St. Anthony by Andrea Sansovino (*ibid.*, p. 466). Pictures executed for Mathias of Hungary (*ibid.*, p. 467). Florence, S. Salvatore. Altarpiece executed for Tanai de' Nerli (*ibid.*, p. 467). Small figures executed for Piero del Pugliese (*ibid.*, *ibid.*) Poggio a Caiano, frescoes (*ibid.*, p. 474). S. Giorgio altarpiece finished by the Spaniard Berruguete (*ibid.*, *ibid.*).

⁴ We add a few more undoubted works of Filippino:—NAPLES, Museum, an Annunciation between St. Andrew and St. John Baptist, an early work of the

Before passing on to the life of Domenico Ghirlandaio it becomes a duty to notice a series of pictures of more or less merit whose character proclaims them to have issued from the hands of men subordinate to Filippino Lippi and Botticelli, who may have been of a wandering class of assistants assuming the style of their temporary masters without possessing talent sufficient to entitle them to an independent position as first-rate artists.

Two angels at the side of a statue by Rossellino, at Empoli,¹ and a portrait assigned by Vasari to Botticelli, which take their place naturally in the class now under consideration, have already been noticed. The classification may be continued for the sake of elucidating points of interest in the lives of a set of artists who bear, many of them, the Christian name of Raffael:—

In the Pieve of Empoli, a painted receptacle for the sacrament is preserved. Records are in existence which prove it to have been commissioned, in March, 1484, by the governors of the company of S. Andrea at Empoli, of Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico, "depintore" of Florence, on condition that it should be completed within two years.² Further records proved that it was not finished till 1491, when the altarpiece was brought from Florence and

master. FLORENCE, Mr. Horne's collection, a Crucifix between the Virgin and St. John. This is rather a drawing in colour than a painting. BERLIN, Museum, No. 78A, Allegory of Music. FLORENCE, Pitti Gallery, No. 336, an allegorical scene, not of very clear significance. BERLIN, Museum, No. 96A, Portrait of a young man. This is a fragment of one of the frescoes that was destroyed in the great fire at S. Maria del Carmine. It was bought in Florence by William Young Ottley more than a century ago. KIEL, Professor Götz Martius, Madonna and Child, executed, perhaps, for one of the Strozzi family, of which family there is the coat-of-arms on a capital. Very fine and well preserved. LONDON, Samuelson collection, The Adoration of the Golden Calf and Moses Striking the Rock. Two paintings of equal dimensions, perhaps executed as part of the decorations of a room. See PHILLIPS, *The Art Journal*, 1906, p. 1 *et seq.* But we cannot agree with Mr. Claude Phillips when he maintains that these were the pictures executed for Mathias Corvinus. We know from Filippino's will (1488) that the subject of these pictures was the Madonna and Saints.

¹ See *antea*.

² At the rate of 40 florins of Empoli per annum. See MS. *Libro dei Ricordi e partite della compagnia di S. Andrea di Empoli* under March 28th, 1484. The record does not give the subject.

* The documents were subsequently published by Milanese in VASARI, iv., p. 245 *et seq.*, and in *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Toscana*, No. 156. They were completed by POGGI in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 258 *et seq.*

placed by "twenty facchini,"¹ on the altar. Removed (1623) to S. Giovanni Battista, a neighbouring Baptistery, at the time when the high altar was rebuilt in marble,² it is now in one of the chapels of the Pieve,³ and has the shape of a triumphal arch painted on both fronts. On one of these, SS. Andrew and John the Baptist stand guard at each side, whilst on the other, now out of its original position and hanging apart, are the Virgin and Angel Annunciate. The predella of one front contains the Last Supper between the martyrdoms of the above-mentioned saints, and that of the second front the Sermon on the Mount, the Capture, and the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias.⁴ The principal figures are long, slender, bony, and fairly proportioned. Their heads are long and bearded, the hands and feet studied, and the draperies full and involved. They combine features common to Botticelli and Filippino with a dull low-toned tempera akin to that observable in some works of the former.⁵ The predellas, more modern in aspect, seem the continuation of the same style. We thus possess an altarpiece which, unless its authorship be contested, which is hardly possible, presents to us Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico as apparently an assistant in the school of the two great painters whose works this altarpiece resembles. To this same artist we should assign the two angels at the side of the statue by Rossellino already described in the life of Botticelli.⁶

That Francesco trained a son to his profession is proved by a record of April 26th, 1506, in which the company of S. Andrea of Empoli gives a commission to Raffaello, "olim Francesco Johannis," of Florence, to paint a Virgin and Child between SS. Andrew and John the Baptist. We must not, however, confound matters, as the commentators to the latest edition of Vasari seem to do (iv., pp. 247-9). The picture ordered in 1506 is not in existence and can not be identical with the

¹ MS. *supra*.

² This fact is duly recorded in *Libro detto Campione beneficiale*, in the Archivio of the chapter-house of the Pieve, now collegiate church of S. Andrea di Empoli.

*³ Now in the Gallery of the Collegiata.

*⁴ The tabernacle had only one front. The Virgin Annunciate and the Angel Gabriel did not form a part of it, although painted by Botticini for the same church. For one reason, the dimensions do not agree. The predella was only on one side, with the subjects in the following order:—The Crucifixion of St. Andrew, the Betrayal, the Last Supper, the Christ Praying in the Mountain, the Banquet of Herod, and the Decapitation.

⁵ Having particularly verde shadows.

*⁶ Besides the two angels with the two donors, the four scenes from the life of St. Sebastian, forming the predella of the tabernacle, are by the same master.



AN ANGEL

By F. BOTTICINI

A portion of an altarpiece in the Collegiata at Empoli

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altarpiece by Francesco di Giovanni just described, because in it there is not, and never was, a Virgin and Child. But another work by Raffaello di Francesco exists, and is in the gallery of the Uffizi. Respecting it, we have a record dated August, 1504, in which Raffaello is commissioned by the incumbent of the Pieve of Empoli to complete the table of the high altar of the said Pieve in the form agreed upon with Francesco his late father;¹ and it is satisfactorily known by what means the altarpiece was transferred (as a work of Perugino) into the gallery at Florence.² The records thus preserved seem to indicate, first of all, that Francesco di Giovanni completed what was called a "tavola del corpo di Christo" in 1491; that he was afterwards commissioned to furnish a regular altarpiece; and that, on his failing to carry out that commission, his son Raffaello undertook and successfully brought it to a termination. The altarpiece, catalogued under his name,³ represents the Deposition from the Cross; its predella⁴ contains Christ and the Woman of Samaria, Christ Driving the Changers Out of the Temple, and the Entrance into Jerusalem. The picture is a second-class production different in style and execution from the sacrament receptacle at Empoli. It is painted in oil in a manner reminiscent of David or Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, or, perhaps better, of Granacci, whose careful execution and

¹ See the record in com. to VASARI, iv., p. 247.

² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

* The commission for this picture, which, under the name of Perugino, passed into the Uffizi Gallery, was given to Raffaello di Francesco by the Compagnia di Santa Croce of the Pieve of Empoli on May 18th, 1508. (See MILANESI in VASARI, iv., p. 248.) It must not be confounded with the picture that was given to Raffaello to finish on August 10th, 1504. This picture that was given to Raffaello to finish is, without doubt, the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, mentioned below, which his father Francesco, who died on July 19th, 1497, left incomplete, and which he agreed to finish for thirty florins in fifty-one days. (POGGI in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 258 *et seq.*) The small sum paid for it, and the short time allowed for the work, show clearly that the Tabernacle was so far finished that but a little remained to be done by Raffaello.

Of Raffaello we possess, thanks to MILANESI (iv., pp. 249-50), the following few notices:—Born in Florence in September, 1477, he painted, in 1498, a picture for the Confraternita of the Corpus Domini of Poggibonsi, now lost. In 1512 he made for the church of San Martino and S. Barbara (? at Empoli), a Virgin with Saints, a picture sold to Russia in 1835, and recognised, by its subject and provenance, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, as identical with a painting in the Hermitage, where it passed as a Spagna. He made a will in 1508, and again in 1513. The last documentary notice of him is of the year 1520.

³ Uffizi, Scuola Toscana, No. 1283.

⁴ No. 1238.

fusion of tints are emulated. The figures are somewhat short and vulgar and the colour reddish. The predella looks like the effort of a cold and poor follower of the styles of Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi.

Having thus far proved that the Deposition from the Cross at the Uffizi and the "tavola del corpo di Christo" are by different hands, we may proceed to notice some pictures in which the character of the latter is to be found mixed with others, derivable from the influence of Andrea del Castagno, viz. :—

BERLIN, *Museum*. In passage, and not catalogued : a Crucifixion, all but life-size, two angels and five saints, inscribed QUESSTA TAVOLA SE FATTA FARE p LORENTO DUGOLINI DE ROSSI. LA QUALE A FATTA FARE BELTRAME DISTOLDO DE ROSSI 1475. The Christ is reminiscent of that by Andrea del Castagno in the first cloister at the Angeli at Florence. The angels have the same vehemence, the tempera, too, is rough.¹

BERLIN, *same collection*. In passage, not catalogued, a Crucifixion and four saints, in the same class as the foregoing.

We now pass to the consideration of a different class of pictures in which we discern something reminiscent of the schools of Filippino Lippi and Botticelli. In this class we place the following :—

A round of the Nativity at the Pitti (No. 347, described *antea* in Filippino), a Coronation of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum (No. 72, described *antea* in Fra Filippo), and a Virgin and Child with angels, between the Magdalen and St. Bernard at the Louvre (No. 1482, assigned to Cosimo Rosselli), the angels being a repetition of the types marking the Berlin picture, the colour being grey and flat, the draperies serpentine and involved, and the execution rude. Taking the Pitti Nativity (No. 347) as a guide, the following may be classed as in the same character and style :—

FLORENCE, *S. Lorenzo*. The Nativity, injured by restoring in oil. The Virgin adores the Child, with St. Francis, and a youthful saint bearing a sword, kneeling at the sides. The type of the latter is reminiscent of that of the angels in the Pitti round; the same peculiarity being remarkable in the face, forms, and draperies of St. Francis. This picture at the same time falls into the class of those usually catalogued

*¹ BODE (*Italian. Bildhauer*, 1887, pp. 144 *et seq.*) gives to this same artist, to whom he gives the name of "the Master of the Rossi-altar," a series of works. It is now held by many critics that their master is none other than Botticini.

under the name of Raffaellino del Garbo, one of which is in the sacristy of this church of S. Lorenzo, and represents the Nativity, but being rubbed down to the preparation admits of no further remark.

FLORENCE, *S. Felice*. To the left of the portal SS. Anthony, Roch, and Catherine (life-size), with scenes from their legends in a predella, at each side of the Annunciation. Coarser and ruder than the Pitti Nativity, of dull tones, grey shadows, and hasty drapery, this piece is assigned to Cosimo Rosselli, a name which covers many mediocrities.¹

*¹ All the works here enumerated, with the exception of the two paintings of S. Lorenzo and S. Felice, ought, we believe, to be given to Francesco di Giovanni Botticini, the author of the two tabernacles at Empoli.

To the same Botticini are to be assigned several other works in which we trace his artistic development as outlined by KÜHNEL (*Francesco Botticini*, Strassburg, ed. Heitz, 1906). Botticini was an eclectic like Jacopo del Sellaio, Raffaellino del Garbo, and many other Florentine artists of the end of the quattrocento and the beginning of the cinquecento. He chiefly followed Verrocchio and Botticelli.

From Neri di Bicci, in whose studio he was placed by his father in 1459, he learnt but little; and he soon left that master, as is proved by a passage in the *Ricordi* of Neri di Bicci. Nevertheless, one of his first works, the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Turin Gallery (No. 119), is not uninfluenced by a picture of the same subject by Neri di Bicci in the Florence Academy.

More powerful was the influence exercised over him by Andrea del Castagno and the Pollaiuoli, as is shown by the Pietà between St. Sebastian and St. Bernard of the Museo di S. Appollonia; the altarpiece formerly belonging to the Rucellai family and later in S. Girolamo of Fiesole, which is now in the National Gallery (No. 227), in which are St. Jerome and four other saints; the St. Augustine and S. Monaca of the Florence Academy (Nos. 59 and 60); the Madonna enthroned with four saints, dated 1471, of the André collection in Paris; and, although it is of a later date, the Capponi altarpiece at S. Spirito, S. Monaca Giving the Rule to the Sisters of her Order.

The celebrated picture of the Assumption of the Virgin at London (Nat. Gall., No. 1126), executed for Matteo Palmieri, proves that at one time Botticini and Botticelli must have worked together, for, though Botticelli was commissioned to paint this picture, the execution is almost entirely by Botticini. In the group of angels round the sarcophagus we find more of Botticelli than in the rest of the picture. In the choirs of angels, on the other hand, disposed with such rigid symmetry and somewhat hard and ungraceful in drawing, we find little of Botticelli's spirit.

To this period KÜHNEL (*op. cit.*, p. 37) assigns a tondo of the Adoration of the Magi, which is in Mr. Martin Ryerson's collection at Chicago, a work which by its fantastic use of Roman architecture as well as in certain peculiarities of composition recalls Botticelli's tondo in the National Gallery in London.

Another group of works of Botticini reveals the influence of Verrocchio. Amongst these we may mention a Virgin Adoring a Child, in the Modena Gallery (No. 449); a portrait of a young man, in the King of Sweden's collection; and, above all, the famous picture of the three Archangels, in the Florence Academy (No. 84),

These pictures introduce us to Raffaellino del Garbo, a painter who probably laboured as a journeyman in more than one Florentine atelier at the close of the fifteenth century.

Raffaellino del Garbo was born about 1466.¹ He was the son of Bartolommeo di Giovanni di Niccolò Capponi, and he practised as a master at Florence as early as 1498. Previous to that time, it appears that he was occasionally employed by Filippino Lippi, as Vasari states that he was assistant to that master in the frescoes of the Caraffa chapel at Rome (1493)²; but his pictures of the sixteenth century prove that he also studied under some of the Peruginesques, either at Rome or at Florence. The earliest picture with which his name is certainly connected is in a private room in the hospital of S. M. Nuova at Florence.³ It represents the Virgin and Child of life-size between St. Francis (left), presenting a kneeling donor, and St. Zenobius in prayer introducing the patroness. At the foot of the throne is a little picture of the

which is certainly the best of the many presentations of this subject by masters of the Florentine school.

When we have added to these pictures the fine tondo of the Marchesa Arconati-Visconti at Paris—the subject of which is the Madonna, the young St. John, and two angels adoring the Holy Child—and another tondo of the Madonna and Child, in Mr. Benson's collection in London, we have a series of works that afford sufficient material for reconstructing the artistic personality of the master of the three Archangels at Florence.

¹ His birth is calculated from Vasari's statement that he died in 1524, aged fifty-eight. His name has been taken from contemporary records by the annotators of VASARI (iv., pp. 233-4). [* If Raffaellino del Garbo and Raffaello Carli are identical, the date is 1470.]

"Quartiere S. Spirito. Arroto del 1498. Quartiere S. Spirito. Gonfalone Scala. Rafaello da Bartolommeo dipintore Popolo di Santa Lucia sopr'Arno.

Non ò gravezza
Sustanza nulla.

"Tengho a pigione da Torrigiano Torrigiani, Gonfalone Nicchio, una bottega a uso tienirsi l'abacho, posta in borgho Sco. Jachopo da prima via; a 2^a el cecina, a 3^a arno per pregio di fior otto l'anno. Dipoi l'apigionò a Raffaello Canaci Gonfale. Leo . . . per detta fior'otto. L'ho a tenere a tenere (*sic*) per insino a dì 12 di Magio 1495 (*sic*) fior. 8 larghi. Tengho a pigione una bottega a uso di dipintore da Luca Rinieri Gonfale Vaio, posta nel popolo di S^a Maria del Fiore, a prima via; a 2^a, Matteo de' Servi a 3^a, Giovanni da S. Miniato per pregio di fior. 5, di sugello l'anno. Apariscene una scritta di mano di detto Lucha." Favoured by Signor Gaetano Milanese. [* Milanese quotes the document in his notes to VASARI, iv., p. 234.]

*² The four sybils in the vaulting of the Cappella Caraffa are so much restored that it is no longer possible to say by whom they were painted.

*³ Now at the Uffizi.

Crucifixion, between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, which is quite Peruginesque. The distance is a landscape of hills. This is a fine second-class Florentine work, betraying the effort of its author to imitate the Perugian school, of Pinturicchio especially, but truly impressed with the Florentine manner in the gravity and weight of the figures. The St. Francis recalls Spagna, the St. Zenobius and the kneeling figures the school of the Ghirlandai, the Virgin and Child Pinturicchio in softness of type and drapery and in the nature of the ornaments. The whole is executed in oil at one painting of a low brown and somewhat flat tone. An inscription may be read as follows:

RAPHAEL DE CAPONIBVS ME PINSIT A. D. MCCCCC.

We trace to the same hand an altarpiece in the second chapel to the left of the transept at San Spirito of Florence, a life-size Virgin and Child exposed to veneration by two angels drawing a curtain, between SS. Lawrence and John Evangelist (left), Stephen and Bernard (right), the latter holding Satan bound by a chain. On the base of the throne is the date 1505. In the predella is a Pietà and four scenes from the lives of the saints, very prettily composed, and that of St. Bernard reminiscent of Filippino. Here, again, is a mixture of the Peruginesque with the weighty Florentine manner, but a more careful execution, modelling of greater impasto, more in the mode of tempera, but a little hard and reddish in tone.¹

We meet with the same painter again at Santa Maria degli Angeli outside Siena, where we find a large altarpiece with a lunette, in a broad gilt frame, of a grand appearance, but disappointing on close inspection. The Virgin and Child are placed between SS. Mary Magdalen and Jerome (left), John Evangelist and Augustine (right).² The Eternal gives a blessing from amongst seraphs, in the lunette. In the predella the adoration of the Magi is flanked by four episodes from the lives of the saints. In the Virgin and Child the type and movement and the style of drawing have something of the Perugian of Pinturicchio. The Adoration of the Magi is also Peruginesque, whilst the side predella scenes are reminiscent of the school of the Ghirlandai. The whole altar-

¹ This picture may supply the place of the lost frescoes described by VASARI (iv., p. 236) as having been painted by Raffaellino in San Giorgio di Florence in 1504.

² The Magdalen is repeated in a much-injured picture at Vallombrosa, dated 1508, in which St. John Gualberto is represented between four saints. This picture the authors give to the same master. (See the Italian edition of this work, vii., p. 174).

piece is finished at one painting in oil, and bears the reddish general tone already noted. Beneath the figure of St. Jerome are the words :—

RAPHAEL DE FLORENTIA PIXIT. A. D. M.CCCCII.

The last example of this kind is that which once adorned the church of San Matteo at Pisa and now forms part of the collection of the Pisan Academy¹—an altarpiece representing the Virgin and Child, two angels, SS. John Evangelist, Jerome, St. John the Baptist, and a bishop at whose feet is the bust profile of a female (engraved by Rosini as a work of Fra Filippo Lippi). Here the painter is more Florentine. But the face of the bishop is the same as in the altarpiece of S. M. Nuova ; and the style generally is feeble, the figures cold, somewhat rigid and bony, the draperies involved as before, the colour tempera, of high impasto, of a dull flesh tone shadowed with verde. Peruginesque tendencies are most visible in the predella, which is parted from its original centre-piece and appended to a picture by Perino del Vaga in S. Matteo of Pisa. It represents amongst other scenes the Adoration of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents, painted in the same manner as the predella at Siena.

It was obviously a fancy of Raffaellino at this period to take different names.² There is notice in Vasari of one of his pictures at San Spirito, representing the Virgin between St. Jerome and St. James.³ It is now in the Corsini chapel in the second cloister of San Spirito ;⁴ two angels are in prayer at the Virgin's side, and near St. James is the inscription : RAPHAEL DE KROLIS PIXIT. A.D. MCCCCO^oII. There is some grace and repose in the figures, which are an improvement on those of the same year at Siena. St. Jerome is fine, and the two angels are Peruginesque in

*¹ In the Museo Civico, Sala VII., No. 6.

*² As in so many cases, the authors anticipate modern discoveries. Whilst there are still critics who seek to distinguish between the three Raffaellini (see GAMBA in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1907, p. 104 *et seq.*), new evidence points to the conclusion that the authors were right in grouping the works attributed to three different masters as though they were painted by one hand. ULMANN, *Repertorium für Kunstw.*, 1894, p. 90 *et seq.*, after giving stylistic reasons for this conclusion, proves by documents that the painter Raffaello di Bartolommeo di Giovanni dei Carli first took the name of his protectors the Capponi, and afterwards that of the street "del Garbo," where he had his bottega. The names are found united in the designation he bore when he was matriculated in the Arti de' Medici e degli Speziali: "Raphael Bartholomei Nicolai Capponi, pictor nel Garbo."

*³ Not St. James, but St. Bartholomew.

*⁴ This picture is now in the Corsini Gallery.



MADONNA AND CHILD, AND SAINTS

BY RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO

From an altarpiece in the church of S. Spirito, Florence

IV.—To face page 300

the manner of Manni. We notice an improvement on previous examples in drawing, proportion, and colour.¹

This review of Raffaellino's earlier productions may be closed by a rapid sketch of a series of frescoes on the walls of S. Martino at Florence, an oratory belonging to the Congregazione de' Buonomini, a charitable institution whose duties and good works it was the aim of the painter to illustrate. The room so decorated is rectangular, the short side by the altar being divided into parts, each of which forms a lunette at the top, the opposite one, through which the door is pierced, similarly divided. The long side to the left of the entrance is in four spaces, like the rest; that to the right in three, at the flanks of two windows. Numbering the lunettes from that of the short side by and to the right of the altar, and counting to the left round the building, the spectator may note: (1) The Dream of St. Martin. (2) St. Martin Dividing his Dress. (3) Burial of the Dead, a function peculiar to the "Buonomini." (4) Pilgrims receiving hospitality. (5) The Buonomini Visiting in Prison. (6) Visit to a Lying-in Hospital. (7) (above entrance door) Distribution of Clothing. (8) Distribution of Wine. (9) The Drawing up of a Marriage Contract. (10) A School. The rest of the series in the wall pierced by the windows is much injured and almost obliterated. Rumour suggests that these paintings are youthful creations of Filippino,² but they betray a later origin and the hand of a painter in the school of Filippino. The Christ and angels in the dream of St. Martin seem conceived in a mixed manner derived from Filippino and Sandro Botticelli, the forms of the angels' heads being more common and less pleasing than those of the former, and ruder in drawing and execution. The drapery throughout is reminiscent of Ghirlandaio, but this is the only relation of the painter to that master, his style being on the whole more akin to that of Filippino than to any other. The types and the character of the figures generally produce the impression that they may have been conceived and carried out by the author of the round of the Nativity (No. 347) at the Pitti, all the females in the frescoes of the Buonomini having a form rudely modelled

¹ VASARI (iv., p. 237) notices this altarpiece as by Raffaellino del Garbo, but turns St. James into St. Bartholomew. [* And Vasari is right.] The annotators (iv., pp. 251-2) notice another picture also given to Raffaellino by VASARI (iv., p. 237)—a Vision of Christ to St. Gregory, signed in the same way as the above, with the date of 1501. It was injured, and has been sold, being last seen in the Woodburn collection. [* This picture is now in Mr. R. Benson's collection. It bears the inscription: RAFAEL KARLI PINXIT A.D.MCCCC. I.]

² *Forsch.*, note to ii., p. 274.

on the Virgin of that picture; and this remark may extend to the draperies and the nude, in her and in the angels.

We now enter upon a period in Raffaellino's career where he loses the Peruginesque and becomes more Florentine. Claustal rules exclude visitors from the refectory of Sta. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, where a fresco of Christ Distributing the Loaves and Fishes covers one of the principal walls,¹ but the figures of SS. Ignatius and Roch at the sides of the statue of St. Sebastian in a chapel of the same convent sufficiently testify that del Garbo could languidly follow the manner of Filippino.² Affectation in forms, mannerism in drawing, and flatness of tempera are equally in this as in the more graceful Angel and Virgin Annunciate flanking a Giottesque St. Lucy in Santa Lucia de' Bardi.³

In the left transept of S. Spirito at Florence, a Trinity adored by the kneeling SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen is a carefully handled and gay specimen of the same art, with a tendency in Raffaellino to lengthen the proportions of the human frame. There are also some pretty things in the predella, representing the Nativity between the Communion of St. Mary of Egypt and the martyrdom of the Alexandrian saint.⁴ But Raffaellino appears to the best advantage in the Gallery of Berlin, where one of his most important altarpieces and two cabinet pictures are preserved. The first of these, a Virgin and Child attended by angels, cherubs, and four saints, is a clear and brilliant tempera executed with great precision in the manner of Filippino and Fra Filippo, but still displaying the slender forms, the affected movement and expression of del Garbo;⁵ the second, a Madonna with the Child, and the Baptist accompanied by angels, between SS.

¹ VASARI, iv., p. 238.

* Raffaello di Bartolommeo Carli was commissioned to paint the fresco in 1503. (See C. V. FABRICZY, in *Arte*, 1906, p. 260.)

² Wood, tempera. Comp., VASARI, iv., p. 239, and RICHA, *Chiese*, i., p. 141.

³ Altar to the left of the entrance.

⁴ Altar No. 20. The Eternal holds a crucifix. Landscape, wood, tempera.

⁵ Berlin Museum, No. 87. Tempera. Two angels support the arras at the side of the throne. Lower are two cherubim. The saints are Nicholas and Dominic erect, Vincent and Peter Martyr kneeling. Distance, a landscape (wood).

placed by "twenty facchini,"¹ on the altar. Removed (1623) to S. Giovanni Battista, a neighbouring Baptistery, at the time when the high altar was rebuilt in marble,² it is now in one of the chapels of the Pieve,³ and has the shape of a triumphal arch painted on both fronts. On one of these, SS. Andrew and John the Baptist stand guard at each side, whilst on the other, now out of its original position and hanging apart, are the Virgin and Angel Annunciate. The predella of one front contains the Last Supper between the martyrdoms of the above-mentioned saints, and that of the second front the Sermon on the Mount, the Capture, and the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias.⁴ The principal figures are long, slender, bony, and fairly proportioned. Their heads are long and bearded, the hands and feet studied, and the draperies full and involved. They combine features common to Botticelli and Filippino with a dull low-toned tempera akin to that observable in some works of the former.⁵ The predellas, more modern in aspect, seem the continuation of the same style. We thus possess an altarpiece which, unless its authorship be contested, which is hardly possible, presents to us Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico as apparently an assistant in the school of the two great painters whose works this altarpiece resembles. To this same artist we should assign the two angels at the side of the statue by Rossellino already described in the life of Botticelli.⁶

That Francesco trained a son to his profession is proved by a record of April 26th, 1506, in which the company of S. Andrea of Empoli gives a commission to Raffaello, "olim Francesco Johannis," of Florence, to paint a Virgin and Child between SS. Andrew and John the Baptist. We must not, however, confound matters, as the commentators to the latest edition of Vasari seem to do (iv., pp. 247-9). The picture ordered in 1506 is not in existence and can not be identical with the

¹ MS. *supra*.

² This fact is duly recorded in *Libro detto Campione beneficiale*, in the Archivio of the chapter-house of the Pieve, now collegiate church of S. Andrea di Empoli.

*³ Now in the Gallery of the Collegiata.

*⁴ The tabernacle had only one front. The Virgin Annunciate and the Angel Gabriel did not form a part of it, although painted by Botticini for the same church. For one reason, the dimensions do not agree. The predella was only on one side, with the subjects in the following order:—The Crucifixion of St. Andrew, the Betrayal, the Last Supper, the Christ Praying in the Mountain, the Banquet of Herod, and the Decapitation.

⁵ Having particularly verde shadows.

*⁶ Besides the two angels with the two donors, the four scenes from the life of St. Sebastian, forming the predella of the tabernacle, are by the same master.



Madonna and Child with Angels
By Raffaellino del Garbo
For sale at the Art and Antique Store, Paris

Sebastian and Andrew, is as good;¹ the third, an erect Virgin and Child between two angels in a landscape, is the best of the three, and will be found engraved in these pages. The tenderest maternal fondness is imparted to the mother, whose cheek rests on the curly head of the Saviour asleep on her bosom. There is something almost Raphaelesque in the conception of the group. The melancholy of the Virgin's face, the flexibility in her attitude of rest are very winning. The drawing is correct, and the draperies well cast. A happy thought is that of making the angel to the right pause in sounding the pipes that the child may sleep and be undisturbed. The other angel is less successful, being a little forced, affected, and absent in look, and thus unconnected in a certain measure with the scene. His pose, as well as his playing, form a discord in the harmony. But for this, the result would be better. Yet as a whole the panel is one of the most pleasant by Raffaellino, very conscientious and full of freshness in every part.²

In a round of the Virgin and Child between SS. Jerome and Francis at Dresden, Raffaellino has expended less application³ than in those of the Berlin Museum.⁴ But the Coronation of the Virgin, once in S. Salvi of Florence, and now at the Louvre, is a first-class altarpiece which would completely illustrate the relation of del Garbo to his master if time and restoring had not dimmed the surface and injured its parts. Yet the large size of the figures still demonstrates his inferiority in the technique, and in the over-studied grace which robs his personages of natural charms in form, expression, or movement.⁵

¹ Berlin Museum, No. 98. Distance, a landscape (wood, tempera, figures half the life-size).

² Berlin Museum, No. 90. Round, 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, from the Solly collection (wood, tempera, small).

* There is a similar *tondo* in the Simon collection in the Berlin Gallery.

³ Dresden Gallery, No. 21. Round, 2 feet 7 inches in diameter (tempera, wood, half life-size). The St. Jerome is the best figure, the others being, perhaps, by one of Raffaellino's pupils.

* ⁴ There are similar *tondi* in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection and at Düsseldorf. See BERENSON, *Drawings*, etc., i., p. 93.

⁵ Louvre, No. 1303. Arched at top, tempera, wood, m. 2.92 high by 1.62, life-size. Four angels play instruments about the circular glory beneath which there are three cherubim. On the foreground SS. Benedict, Salvi, Gio. Gualberto, and

A beautiful round of the Virgin and Child between the Magdalen and St. Catherine is to be seen in the collection of the Marchese Pucci at Florence.¹ It is so fine that the name of Filippino has been given to it. It is rare to find so much feeling in Raffaellino's figures, as there is in the Magdalen. The form is, perhaps, a little too slender, but the treatment is exquisitely careful.²

Without extending an examination which cannot bring out new features in Raffaellino, it may be sufficient to register his pictures at Florence, on the Continent, and elsewhere, and to note that towards the close of his days he was reduced to great poverty, and sold the proceeds of his labour at low prices. He died infirm in 1524, and was buried in S. Simone at Florence by the charitable care of the Company of Mercy.³

FLORENCE, *S. Ambrogio*. To the left of the entrance the arched upper border surrounding a statue of St. Sebastian contains two angels in monochrome, and a medallion at the base incloses an Annunciation in Raffaellino's manner. On the second altar to the right (*S. Ambrogio*) is also a St. Anthony in majesty between St. Nicholas and the angel Tobit, of the same class but repainted.⁴

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts*. No. 90. Originally in Monte Oliveto, wood, oil, figures half life-size. Subject, the Resurrection. Vasari's praise here is excessive (iv., pp. 235, 236). We are dealing, as before, with a dwarf Filippino. The paltry character of the figures reminds us of the Resurrection under the name of the Ghirlandaio in the Berlin Museum (No. 75). The Redeemer rises from the sepulchre, and the cover has fallen on one of the guards. A soldier on the left gets on his legs in terror. Another runs away to the right with a knife in his hand. Both are grimacing. The figures in action are less successful than the Redeemer and the men asleep about the tomb. The colour,

Bernard. The blues are everywhere abraded and the draperies are throughout damaged. The lower parts are the least preserved. The predella (scenes from the life of S. Giovanni Gualberto) is missing.

*¹ Now in London in the Samuelson collection.

² Marchese Pucci collection, No. 18. Wood, tempera, figures all but life-size.

³ VASARI, iv., p. 241.

*⁴ This picture is above the first, not the second, altar to the right, and represents St. Ambrose in majesty, not St. Anthony, between St. Nicholas and Tobias with the angel.



MADONNA AND CHILD AND ANGELS

BY RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO

From the collection of Mr. R. H. Benson, London



THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST

BY RAFFAELLINO DEL GARBO

From a picture in the Galleria Antica e Moderna, Florence

being hatched in shadows, seems handled like tempera, but remains careful and precise though a little raw and sharp in contrasts. Serpentine drapery is another prominent defect. The landscape of town, ruins, rocks, and trees is rather green.

FLORENCE, *Uffizi Corridor*. No. 35. Round, wood. Injured Holy Family, composed in a mode reminiscent of Raphael, assigned in the *Catalogue* to Raffaellino, but of the class suggested by his name and that of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

VENICE, *Academy*. No. 55. Once in the Manfrini Gallery. Round, wood, 0.63 in diameter, of the Holy Family, called Credi, gracefully arranged but scaled and retouched all over; probably by Raffaellino.

NAPLES, *Museum*. No. 15. Round, wood, oil. The Virgin gives a pomegranate to the Infant who turns towards the young Baptist. Feeble, raw, and hard, and overladen with ornament. Of Raffaellino's school by a later hand.

LONDON, *W. Fuller-Maitland*. Altarpiece, Virgin and Child, between SS. John Evangelist, Justus, Julian, and Catherine (wood, life-size, grounds regilt). Greatly damaged by restoring, but still exhibiting the style of del Garbo when young and recently out of the school of Filippino.¹

LONDON, *Sir Charles Eastlake*. Virgin with the Child on her lap opening a pomegranate (knee-piece). The Baptist seen to the waist looks on. A vase and book are on a parapet in front, a landscape behind (wood, small). A graceful tempera, much softness and feeling, carefully finished, and of a clear bright tone.²

LONDON, *Mr. Barker*. From the Rogers and Bromley collections. Catalogued as Verrocchio and then as Pollaiuolo (see *antea*, p. 248). Profile bust of a lady in a gold head-dress, a good likeness by del Garbo.³

VIENNA, *Harrach Gallery*. No. 180. Round of the Holy Family. The Virgin holds the Child, St. Joseph has the young St. John by his side. On the left, two kneeling angels (wood, figures third of life), Not by Raffaellino, but a Florentine follower of Michele di Ridolfo or Mariano da Pescia.

*¹ This picture is no longer in the Fuller-Maitland collection, but in Lady H. Somerset's collection at Eastnor Castle.

*² This is probably identical with a picture now in Mr. R. Benson's collection.

*³ This picture was bought by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild at the Dudley sale.

MAYENCE, *Museum*. No. 129. Described "manner of Ghirlandaio." Virgin erect, the Child turning the leaves of a book on a marble table (wood, figures one-third life-size). In Raffaellino's style.

Missing pieces may be catalogued as follows :—Florence : tabernacle at the corner of the Ponte alla Carraia and Canto alla Cuculia (VASARI, iv., p. 236). Villa of Marignolle : two tavole (*ibid.*, *ibid.*). S. Spirito : Pietà. Vision of St. Bernard (as regards the latter, see *antea*, p. 225), and Virgin, Child, SS. Jerome and Bartholomew¹ (VASARI, iv., p. 237). S. Pier Maggiore : Virgin, Child, and SS. Gio. Gualberto and Francis (*ibid.*, iv., p. 239, and RICHA, *Chiese*, i., 141). Murate : S. Sigismund (VASARI, iv., p. 239). S. Pancrazio : fresco of the Nativity² (*ibid.*, iv., p. 239). Ponte a Rubaconte chapel (*ibid.*, iv., p. 239). Chiesa dell' Arcangelo. Raffaello : Virgin and Child (RICHA, *Chiese*, i., p. 167, and ix., p. 129).

*¹ But this picture still exists, and is in the Corsini Gallery at Florence.

*² Not the Nativity, but the Trinity.

CHAPTER XIV

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

WE now pass to the consideration of the works of a man whose life forms, like that of Giotto, one of the great landmarks in the history of Florentine art. Domenico Ghirlandaio was a painter whose energy and creative power contemned the mere practice of painting altarpieces. Unequal to Masaccio or even to Fra Filippo in the power of charming by brightness or richness of tone, he first claimed attention by his intelligence of grand and decorous laws of composition. His strongly tempered mind, braced with a nerve equal to that of Michael Angelo, was above the artifices of colour, and he doubtless considered them second to the science of distribution and of form, and calculated to fetter his inclination for expressing on large surfaces and with great speed the grand conceptions of his genius. In these conceptions, fruits of long study and careful thought, he aimed at embodying all the essential elements conducive to a perfect unity. That unity he had found in Giotto, and strove with such success to emulate, that he may be said to have completed the body of the edifice, the first stone of which had been laid almost two centuries before by that successful artist. Yet he might have struggled to the goal in vain, had he not taken for a guide in his pictorial manhood the works of one who had given proof, during a career too short for his contemporaries, but long enough for his fame, that he possessed the noblest faculties. Ghirlandaio studied attentively and fruitfully the masterpieces of Masaccio at the Carmine, from which he acquired ideas of pictorial dignity and truth. He did not neglect, on the other hand, the lessons taught by another class of men, the bias of whose thought and the tendencies of whose research had resulted in great gain to the various branches of their art. He gathered and harvested

for subordinate use the experience of architects, of students of perspective, of form, of proportion, and light and shade, and learnt to apply the laws of chiaroscuro to the human frame, and to the still life that surrounds it. Without adding anything to the total sum of experience acquired by successive searchers, he gathered and assimilated the whole of it, and thus conduced to the perfection of the masculine art of Florence, which culminated at last in Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

The same spirit and greatness of aim which led Ghirlandaio to prefer dealing with large spaces to painting altarpieces induced him to neglect the innovations which had already been carried out by the Peselli, Baldovinetti, the Pollaiuoli, and Verrocchio. He remained true to the old system of tempera, following with unwavering fidelity a method which may be described as that of Benozzo mingled with that of Fra Filippo. But though he neglected to contribute to the technical improvement of oil painting, it would be an error to assume that he was untaught in that method. We may presume, indeed, that the practice of the various ateliers was generally known to all the men who followed the profession of a painter and to Ghirlandaio amongst the rest; but that he considered tempera subject to less inconvenience, and capable of yielding fairer results than a new system promising much for the future perhaps, but still surrounded with difficulties and disadvantages. The loss of time and labour was great at the outset of oil painting. Baldovinetti's attempt to transfer the new vehicle from panel to wall had been a failure; and Domenico, who was Baldovinetti's pupil, recoiled probably from a change so clearly open to objection.

Baldovinetti's pupil:—Vasari says so, for painting as well as for mosaic, of which Ghirlandaio was wont to exclaim "that the first was fleeting, the last eternal,"¹ Baldovinetti was undoubtedly, of all the Florentines, the most able to teach the business of the mosaicist, being celebrated as the best executant of his age in that branch. He was master enough to be Ghirlandaio's guide in painting, and there is something in the

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 274.

younger artist's productions to show that he was indebted to Baldovinetti for a few peculiarities of style.¹

Domenico di Tommaso Curradi di Doffo Bigordi was born in 1449, and bred in the house of his father, a jeweller, according to Vasari,² a broker by his own account.³ We have no means of deciding whether Tommaso, previous to his adoption of the broker's business, was not a goldsmith. The neatness and precision of drawing which became remarkable in Domenico may have arisen from his early introduction to the fashionable art of the period, whilst a statuesque pose and moulded system of draperies equally characteristic of his style in after years might be possibly derived from the same source. The influence of bronze sculpture on the Pollaiuoli is illustrated in a remarkable manner in Ghirlandaio. The laws of modelling for casts are plain enough on consideration. They require simplicity and breadth of mass, low projection and shallow depressions, lines mostly in a common direction, with a parallelism but slightly altered by inflection inwards, or expansion outwards, and for this reason always to some extent arranged. Whilst these laws as affecting drapery are traceable in the paintings of Ghirlandaio, the practice of the modeller is equally visible in his effort to give plastic character to the human form, which assumes for that reason a certain hardness and want of flexibility. Nor is it likely that such marked peculiarities as these should have been merely transfused into Domenico's style by contact with one deriving them from the pursuit of the goldsmiths' trade. They seem rather to form inherent qualities in a man who should have been apprenticed to it. Hence we may believe that

¹ Ghirlandaio's earlier works have something of the plastic and pictorial manner to be found in paintings assigned to the Pollaiuoli and Baldovinetti in the chapel of the cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato al Monte. We should be inclined to attach little importance to the evidence afforded by a fresco at S. Nicolò in Florence (with the repainted date 1430—see *antea*), the surface of which is extensively retouched in oil; but the fact that it discloses features common to Baldovinetti in his picture at the Uffizi and to Ghirlandaio strengthens the conclusion that the two artists were connected as master and pupil.

² VASARI, iii., p. 254.

³ See his income paper (1430) in GAYE, i., p. 266, from which we ascertain the date of Domenico's birth. [* This income paper has been published by MESNIL, in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1906, pp. 68, 69.]

Ghirlandaio is truly described as having been bred in the shop of his father or of some other jeweller, known perhaps by the name of the "Garland maker" which clung to him and his kin.¹

Ghirlandaio's talent was of slow and majestic growth.² His father describes him at the age of thirty-one as without a fixed place of abode,³ and he does not seem to have enjoyed the privileges of a master till after the completion of a series of frescoes in the church of Ognissanti,⁴ in one of which he depicted Amerigo Vespucci who was "to give his name to a continent,"⁵ and, as he sat, was perhaps unconscious of his future greatness. The loss of the frescoes in the Vespucci chapel, however, is in a certain measure supplied by the preservation of others in the body of the church and the Last Supper in the refectory of Ognissanti,⁶ all of which bear the date of 1480; and we are enabled to perceive that Ghirlandaio, though long past the age of Masaccio when he produced the Brancacci series, was still in his ascending course at this time. We have seen that Andrea del Castagno recast the subject of the Last Supper in a new and more modern form. Ghirlandaio follows in his footsteps, and even repeats one of his figures; but he is

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 254.

* ² Mr. Gerald Davies, Domenico Ghirlandajo's latest biographer, regards a fresco of the Madonna and Child and two Saints, which is in S. Andrea at Brozzi, as the earliest known work of the master; but this attribution is not universally accepted. DAVIES, *Ghirlandajo*, London, 1908, p. 18.

³ See the income paper, *u.s.*, in GAYE, i., p. 266.

⁴ VASARI, ii., p. 255. The subjects, a dead Christ and saints, and a "Misericordia" above an arch. See also RICHA (iv., p. 266). The whole was whitewashed in 1616. [* This fresco was brought to light again in 1898 (see BROCKHAUS, *Forschungen über Florent. Kunst.* Leipzig, 1902, pp. 85 *et seq.*). Brockhaus holds that Amerigo is not represented in the fresco. But he identifies Simonetta Vespucci. Others, however (see HAUETTE, *Ghirlandaio*, Paris, 1907, p. 34), identify Amerigo with the young man nearest the Virgin to the left, and hold that the fresco was executed not in 1480, but in 1473, just after the construction of the chapel (1472).]

⁵ See LAYARD's admirable monograph on Domenico Ghirlandaio in the publications of the Arundel Society. 8vo. London, 1860.

* ⁶ Ghirlandajo also painted elsewhere the Last Supper. Besides that of the convent of St. Mark, which is probably a replica, executed by inferior followers, of the Last Supper of Ognissanti, Ghirlandajo and his pupils executed a Last Supper in the convent of Passignano in the Val di Pesa, which still exists, though much injured by repainting, and Domenico with David painted another "Cena" in S. Donato in Polverosa, which was destroyed in 1530. See MESNIL in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 118.

no servile copyist; he is more staid and dignified and perhaps a little more tame. The old symmetry of sitting apostles is varied by a clear exhibition of the moving thought in the assemblage. Peter menacingly points at Judas, and a group on the left presses forward, eager to fathom the words of the Redeemer. A great variety of individual expression and action is also apparent, and the melancholy in the face of the apostle next St. John Evangelist is remarkable. Ghirlandaio displays immature art in the rough treatment of his colour, in profuse hatching, and defective chiaroscuro. His shadow is without breadth, and being deepest near the outline produces great and unnecessary hardness. His outline is dry and wiry, his flesh red, and his drapery disfigured by arrangement.¹

The St. Jerome in Ognissanti church is decorous and becoming; but the gravity natural to a father of the Church, composing his homily amidst books, is carried almost to immobility; and the execution being similar to that of the Last Supper, stamps Ghirlandaio as an artist, promising, but incompletely formed, and with less fire, life, or practice of hand than Botticelli.²

Even in the later frescoes with which he adorned the Sala dell' Orologio in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (1481-5), Ghirlandaio had not entered into the full enjoyment of his powers, but he already gives more relief and roundness to his figures, and shows that he is near the goal at which he afterwards remained. The restoration and renewal of many parts of the Public Palace in 1480-81, and following years, is attested by numerous entries of payments to architects, sculptors, and painters. The gates of the audience hall, entrusted to Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano,

¹ This fresco occupies the whole wall opposite the door of the Ognissanti refectory, and is composed of life-sized figures. The head of the Saviour is new, having been repainted on fresh intonaco apparently in the seventeenth century. St. John lies on his lap. The painting is dimmed besides by damp, and some dresses near the feet of the figures, chiefly that of the third apostle from the left side, are restored. The figure repeated from Castagno is that of St. Simon the third from the right side of the picture. Below the feet of Judas is the date "MCCCCLXXX." VASARI wrote of the Last Supper (iii., p. 255). RICHA also (iv., p. 288).

² The fresco is noticed by VASARI (iii., p. 258), RICHA (iv., p. 266), and ALBERTINI (*Memoriale*, u.s., p. 14). It is also dated on a bench MCCCCLXXX., and with the exception of some retouching is in good preservation. VASARI further notes St. George in Ognissanti which no longer exists (iii., p. 259).

the faces of the same to Ghirlandaio, Botticelli,¹ Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi, Piero del Pollaiuolo, and others, represent a sum of artistic activity only rivalled by that of Sixtus the Fourth, who employed the same artists at the Sistine chapel. Among those whom the papal commands took to the Vatican in the midst of his employment at the Public Palace of Florence is Ghirlandaio, whose journey to Rome,² however, only occurred subsequently to the completion³ (in 1482) of the apotheosis of St. Zenobius and its attendant incidents, one of the few wall paintings left in a hall originally adorned by so many artists.⁴

The reader must fancy the end wall of the room so painted with feigned architecture as to represent a deep vaulted alcove, the front and side arches of which rest on square pillars or piers, through the open spaces of which we see S. M. del Fiore, with Giotto's façade and the bell-tower. Two lions bearing the standard of the republic stand guard (or rather stood, as one of them is mutilated by the subsequent aperture of a door)⁵ over the Majesty of St. Zenobius enthroned with the mitre and crozier of office between two saints. The lunette at the bottom of the alcove imitates a bas-relief of the Madonna between two angels. Two finely ornamented pilasters form lintel posts at the sides of the alcove, and support a gilt wooden cornice which covers the centre arch and two shallow recesses at each side, in which are figures, in the open lunettes,

¹ We assume that the Sandro Marini (misprinted for Sandro Mariani) in GAYE's record, *Carteggio*, i., p. 578, is no other than Botticelli.

² Domenico, with his brother David, had already been at Rome in 1475, working on the decoration of the Biblioteca Vaticana. MÜNTZ, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, October, 1875, p. 372.

³ The opposite to this is the truth; the frescoes of the Sistine, as we have shown in writing of Botticelli, were executed before the frescoes of the Palazzo della Signoria. According to the contract of October 27, 1481, Ghirlandajo was to finish the Sistine frescoes by March 15, 1482. And Ghirlandajo, unlike many artists and writers on art, seems to have completed his work in the stipulated time; for before May 1st he was back in Florence. See STEINMANN, *Die Sixtin. Kapelle*, 1901, p. 633, and MESNIL, *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 117 *et seq.*

⁴ It appears from an entry of 1481 (Flor. style) that Ghirlandaio had already done a part of the work in the hall of the Palazzo, and, from an entry of November, 1482, the St. Zenobius was already finished. (GAYE, i., pp. 577-8.) This fresco is mentioned with praise by VASARI (iii., p. 269), and by ALBERTINI (*Memoriale*, u.s., p. 15). The figures are over life-size. [* The first document relating to the work of Ghirlandajo at the Palazzo della Signoria is of 1482. Gaye has here fallen into error. (See MESNIL in the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1905, p. 119, note 2.)]

⁵ These lions were in stone colour.

of Brutus, Scaevola¹ and Camillus, of Decius, Scipio, and Cicero, whilst medallions of emperors fill the spandrels.

Ghirlandaio in this instance lays out his space architecturally with great skill. We involuntarily revert to the false and capricious extravagance of Filippino to the overcharged richness of Botticelli, and contrast their efforts with his purity. The whole is so well distributed, adorned with such taste, and realised with such a successful application of linear perspective that nothing remains to be desired.² The illusion is not diminished by any disproportion between the architectural space and the saints which it encloses. The figures are grand and dignified in mien. The Madonna in the central lunette is graceful, the Roman heroes in the side recesses are classically bold. Ghirlandaio seems to invest himself with the character of the antique, and improves on Castagno and his forerunners. The air which swells his draperies gives them an excellent form. Yet we should like more breadth of chiaroscuro, less hardness in the brown-red shadows, and some use of reflections. Whilst Domenico, in obedience to the prevalent taste of his contemporaries, was introducing into Florence for the first time the mixture of sacred and profane thought previously confined to the painters of the Sienese school, and was thus giving the cue to Perugino for the ornament of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, Sixtus the Fourth called him to Rome to exhibit his talents on a grander scale and on more sacred themes. But before he left home he had occasion to test his power in a fresco of the Annunciation painted on the walls of the oratory of S. Giovanni in the Pieve of S. Gimignano at the request of Giuliano Martini Cetti, its patron and founder. The style of this piece, however, betrays the help of Sebastian Mainardi,³ and

¹ A crack in the intonaco has removed the inscription, but the action of the figure holding its hand in a brazier indicates sufficiently the person intended.

² We may note that the classic style of the architecture and bas-reliefs is but a continuation of a feature already in Giotto's fresco at S. Francesco, upper church of Assisi, in which Trajan's column is introduced. See *antea*.

³ Sebastiano di Bartolo Mainardi married Domenico's half-sister Alessandra. See root of the Ghirlandai in VASARI, iii., pp. 282, 283. The figure of the Angel is Mainardi's, that of the Virgin Domenico's.

This fresco is inscribed: HOC OPVS FIERI FECIT IVLIANVS QVONDAM MARTINI CETTI DE SANCTO GEMINIANO MCCCCLXXII.

S. Gimignano boasted later of better and more important works¹ from his hand.

Hitherto Ghirlandaio had proved that a painter might possess a combination of power sufficient to raise his art to a high general level, and yet be deficient in minor details. In the frescoes of the Sistine he proclaims a partial, an all but complete victory over the defects of his earlier time, and produces the finest picture in a chapel in which he competes with and surpasses all his contemporaries. This work completed, as we may conjecture, before 1484,² presupposes a new and deep study of Masaccio's masterpieces. It is certainly marked by greater power in the reproduction of relief, by more breadth of light and shade, more skill in the rendering of forms and in the handling than previous examples.

Without entering into a description of the subject, which is clear enough from our illustration, we may call attention to the grandeur conspicuous in the Saviour who reminds us, by attitude and gesture, of Masaccio's Christ in the "tribute money," to the beautiful arrangement in the groups of youths and saints behind the kneeling apostles,³ and to the evident improvement carried out there by the painter in the greater spaciousness of the masses of chiaroscuro, the consequent gain in rotundity of parts, the increased precision in the definition of the outer forms and the detail of the inner ones. The landscape is appropriately vast, and Ghirlandaio applies the laws of relief and linear perspective in the manner of Michael Angelo. His absence of feeling for colour is still felt. His desire to carry out the modelling of parts induces him to return with stippling over all; he brings red on to the cheeks, and he gives a rough texture to the surface of his work. His flesh tone has a predominant purple hue with leaden shadows. The result is hardness in strong contrast to the softness of Masaccio and the blending of Fra Filippo.

*¹ These other works at S. Gimignano were not of a later date but of an earlier date. See *postea*.

*² It was completed in 1482. See *antea*.

*³ STEINMANN has surmised, with some probability, that some of the portraits in the fresco, and especially the group on the left, are of Florentines then at Rome, such as Giovanni Argiropulo and Giovanni Tornabuoni.



THE CALL OF ST. PETER
By DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

From a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome

Yet the effect at a distance is preserved, and the lack of brilliant tone is compensated by severer qualities.¹

Whether Ghirlandaio made a long stay at Rome, or whether he journeyed more than once between that capital and Florence, is not certain.² It is equally remarkable to find that he draws pay at the beginning of each year, 1483-4-5, from the superintendents of the Palazzo pubblico at Florence, and that he paints a second fresco at the Sistine, which has perished,³ as well as a chapel at S. M. della Minerva at Rome for the Florentine house of the Tornabuoni.⁴ He must have had leisure, too, to admire the monuments and architecture of the olden times; for his taste and experience were evidently improved by his journey, and his portfolios were clearly enriched with designs and bas-reliefs not to be found or studied in Florence.⁵

If the fresco of the Sistine illustrates the dignified grandeur of a severe style, those of the Cappella S. Fina at S. Gimignano, where Domenico laboured before 1485,⁶ show grandeur and dignity, tempered and softened by feeling and grace.

¹ The nature of Ghirlandaio's painting is that of Michael Angelo, whose colossal figures at the Sistine are finished with all the minuteness of a miniature. Yet how grand is the effect at a distance. These frescoes of Ghirlandaio are mentioned by VASARI, iii., p. 259.

*² See *antea*, p. 312.

*³ VASARI, iii., p. 259. This fresco, which was repainted by a Flemish artist under Gregory XIII., is above the entrance door of the chapel. It represents the Resurrection.

⁴ This has perished likewise (VASARI, iii., p. 260, and ALBERTINI, *Opusc.*, u.s., p. 50). [* The authors have shown that Ghirlandaio did not paint in S. Maria della Minerva. See the Italian edition of this work, vii., p. 185 *et seq.*]

*⁵ There exists in the Escorial a sketch-book of a pupil of Ghirlandajo with drawings of Roman antiquities, some of which are similar to details in the works of Domenico painted after his sojourn in Rome. See H. EGGER, *Codex Escorialensis*, Wion, 1906.

⁶ There is a record of 1477 at S. Gimignano, in which no painter's name is mentioned, but which comprises a claim of 49 lire for blue and gold for painting the chapel of the Pieve (PECORI, u.s., p. 520). The chapel of S. Fina was, however, not consecrated till October, 1488, when the relics of the saint were finally transferred to it. [* See PECORI, u.s., p. 638.] The architecture of the building is by Giuliano da Maiano (PECORI, u.s., p. 638). VASARI has not forgotten the frescoes of the Cappella S. Fina, and describes Mainardi as Domenico's assistant there (iii., p. 275).

* A document of 1475 proves that Mainardi was already at work in the Pieve of S. Gimignano, and another document recording payments made in 1474 (PECORI,

On the wall, to the right of the entrance, the youthful Santa Fina lies on a low bed attended by two females, one of whom raises her head that she may contemplate with more ease the apparition of a pope in a glory of angels. Fear is depicted in the gesture of the second attendant, who sits behind the bed near a table laden with a tray and other utensils. An inscription¹ on the wall suggests that the vision warns the saint of her approaching dissolution, whilst her subsequent death is clearly declared by the representation, in the upper space, of her maiden form kneeling in a circular halo carried to heaven by seraphs.

On the wall to the left, Santa Fina lies in state, a female in rear of the couch looking over her, a boy kissing her left foot, a bishop and his suite reading the service at her head, and the chaunters and spectators in grave contemplation at the opposite side. Right and left of the choir in which the scene is depicted are views of the towers of S. Gimignano, the bell of one of which is rung by an angel. In the lunettes are six figures of bishops in couples, in the spandrels, eight prophets with scrolls, and in the ceiling, the Evangelists in the usual triangular spaces.²

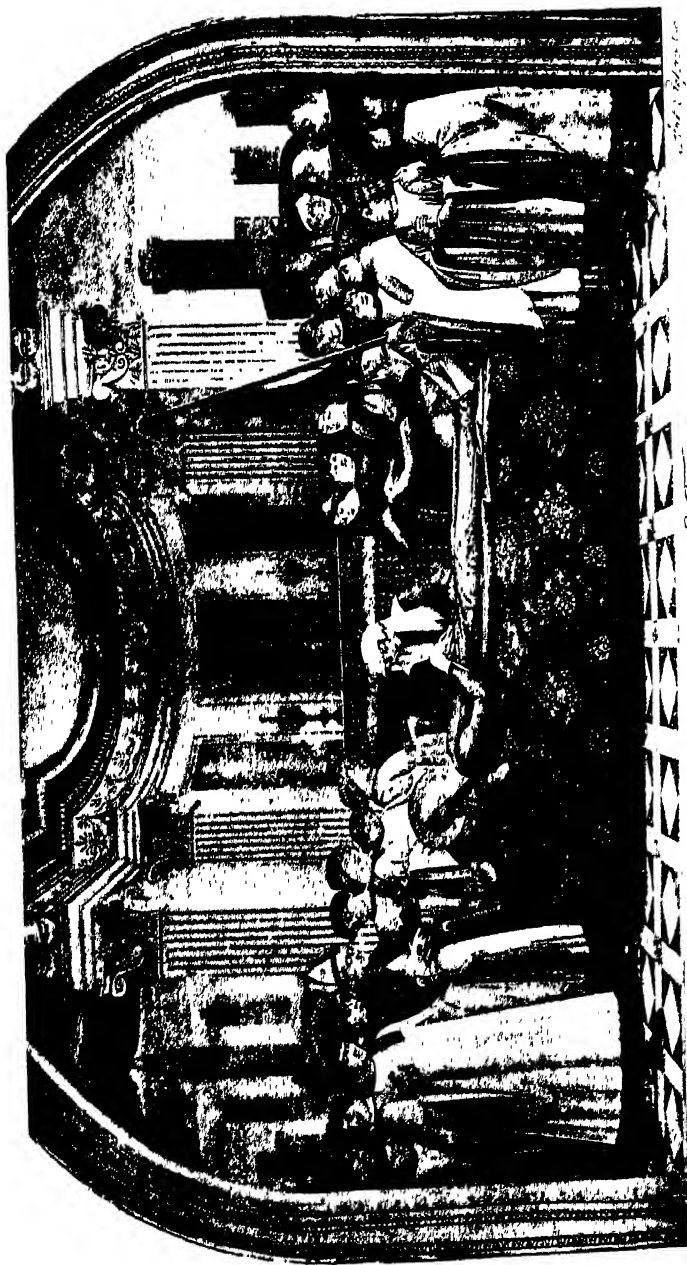
There is in this fine creation of Ghirlandaio an exquisiteness of sentiment comparatively unfrequent in his works—select form in the frame, the face and hands of the recumbent saint, ecstasy in her expression as she sees the vision. Yet nothing, in the age of realism in which Ghirlandaio lived, more truly reminds us of the spirit of Giotto. An equally high principle presides over the portrait character of other figures, whether we consider the females who contemplate the vision or the spectators of the final scene.

Less favourable in its impression is the Last Supper in

u.s., p. 512) to "Domenico and Piero of Florence," obviously refers to Ghirlandaio and Pier Francesco Fiorentino. For stylistic reasons, too, we hold that these frescoes were painted about the year 1475, and were anterior in date to those of the Sistine chapel.

¹ PARATA ESTO, FILIA QUIA DIE SOLOMNITATIS MEA AD NOSTRUM ES VENTURA—
CONSORTIUM IN GLORIAE PERMANTURA CUM SPONSO TUO.

² The fresco of the death is fairly preserved with the exception of some retouching chiefly in the blues of vestments. Some of the prophets in the spandrels are injured by restoring; and of the Evangelists: St. Mark is new; St. Luke's green dress is repainted; St. Matthew's red mantle similarly altered, and the green tunic of the angel near him freshened. The head of St. Matthew is in part uninjured. The ceiling is said to be by Mainardi, but we can see but one hand in the whole chapel.



The Burial of S. Fina

*By Domenico Ghirlandino
From a fresco in the Cathedral of Pienza*

After the manner

S. Marco¹ at Florence, where the composition at Ognissanti is repeated with less life and action, though with better relief. The dim tone and roughness of surface, caused by time and damp, may have a part in diminishing the pleasure that might otherwise be felt for this work.

The truth is that Ghirlandaio himself contributes to make us fastidious; and we are disappointed when the result is below the expectations raised and kept up by his finer creations.

Amongst the number of these the series of frescoes adorning the family chapel of the Sassetti in S. Trinità at Florence is extraordinarily attractive, because it represents Italian art securely raised to a high standard and free from most of the defects of contemporary masters.² Incidents, in themselves humble and natural, acquire a monumental grandeur when combined with the adventitious splendour of cathedral edifices and pomp of station in the actors or spectators of the scenes; and if the portrait character given to many of the figures and the local scenery was calculated in Ghirlandaio's time to modify the exact impression that might be created by disregard of all but the letter of the subjects, they gained much in dignity in the eyes of the masses by their connection with persons of the highest position in the land. Such is the commanding mien imparted to these by the painter that the spectator even of these days falls under the charm and feels the interest. The Sassetti chapel, with its frescoes, the feigned pilasters and cornices of classic shape, and the ornaments of the altar and tombs, are all part of one great design.

By the sides of the altar kneel Francesco Sassetti, and his wife Nera. Within arched recesses in the walls forming the sides of the chapel are the funeral urns of the pair. On that to the right the cover bears the words GEN. SAXET FR.T.F., a scroll on the body of it; the lines: DEO OMNIP. FRANCISCVS SAXETTVS SIBI V.P. On that to the right, in the same order, are the family name and the inscription DEO OMNIP. NERÆ CVRSALIS CONJVG. DVLCISS. CVM QVA SVAVITER VIVIT FRANCISCVS SAXETTVS POS. The borders of the arched recesses are filled with classic designs, with a syren

¹ VASARI, (iii., p. 258) mentions this fresco and an altarpiece which is not to be found there now. See also RICHA, vii., p. 133.

² VASARI, iii., pp. 255-7.

and a seraph in the key of the bend. Bas-reliefs, interspersed with centaurs and tripods, cover the friezes of the plinths supporting the urns. Classical subjects are likewise in the spandrels of the arched niches in which the tombs are ensconced;—two Cæsars, and a harangue by two figures to a group of five soldiers on those of Francesco Decursis;—Germanicus starting in his chariot in rear of a cavalcade on those of Nera.¹ A double course of frescoes on three sides of the chapel overtops the lower spaces. The subjects are six in number, beginning in the lunettes with, first, to the left, St. Francis renouncing his father's heritage; next, Honorius confirming the rules of the Franciscan order,² then the Saint before the Soldan. In the second course, also from left to right, the saint receiving the Stigmata,³ the resurrection of the Child of the Spini⁴ and the funeral of St. Francis. Four sybils are in the groined ceiling. Beneath the portraits are the words: A. D. MCCCCLXXXV. XV DECEMBRIS.⁵

Seen from the necessary distance, the Sassetti chapel not only shows a complete unity of decoration, but charms above all works hitherto carried out by Ghirlandaio by an unusual harmony of colour. A surprising reality is represented, with the breadth and grandeur of Masaccio and Raphael, in the portrait of Sassetti,

*¹ For the derivation from the antique of the two monuments executed by Giuliano de Sangallo see F. SCHOTTMÜLLER in *Repertorium für Kunstw.*, 1902, p. 401. On the same subject, and especially on the decoration of the monuments, see a brilliant study by WARBURG in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge, August Schmarsow gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 129 *et seq.* VENTURI (*L'Arte*, 1910, v., p. 385) seeks to show that the monuments are by Bertoldo.

² The dresses of the cardinals and prelates seated in rows perpendicular to the Pope's throne are injured and repainted in many parts, as are likewise some of the heads and hands. The same remark applies to the kneeling monks of Francis' suite. Some colour in the distance has evaporated, and a few of the distant figures are injured.

³ The head of St. Francis is repainted, and likewise parts of the distance. The Saviour in the sky to the left is also partially retouched.

⁴ Some dresses are scaled off, especially in a group to the right. The same has happened to a part of the bed on which the Child sits and the ground by it, as well as to a piece of the gown of the grieving female at that place. Some holes in other spots have been stopped with fresh paint. The background and some distant figures are damaged by scaling.

⁵ The "v" in the date is new. The Tiburtine sybil predicting the coming of Christ to Octavian was painted on the outer arch of the chapel and is now obliterated (VASARI, iii., pp. 256, 257). [* This fresco has lately been brought to light again. The execution does not appear to be that of Domenico.]

whose form and bald head are not more finely given than those of his wife. In the former Ghirlandaio disdains the usual minuteness of stippling. The simple flow of a lake-red drapery of solid stuff, the manly frame and fleshy hands are nature itself.

In the fresco of St. Francis before the archbishop of Assisi Bernardone is represented, with his rage spent, the cord with which he wished to stripe his son almost drops from his hand, and he totters in the arms of a friend with grief in his look and attitude.

Like the scene of the ordeal before the Soldan, it is somewhat nerveless.

The episode of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, on the other hand, is rich in incidents. The distance is a landscape with Pisa and its leaning tower at the foot of hills, people watering horses, traffic on the roads and paths, a frightened hind and its companion. On the right St. Francis receives the marks of the wounds, whilst his follower to the left falls backwards in surprise. The highest points are touched copiously in gold for the sake of light, the subject being on the dark side of the chapel, and the head of St. Francis looking up is repainted. The chief interest is thus concentrated on the three following frescoes.

Honorius grants the rules to Francis in presence of the cardinals, Lorenzo de' Medici standing on the right with three attendants, facing a group of four on the extreme left, and heedless of six others ascending a flight of steps at the edge of the picture.¹ This is one of Ghirlandaio's creations in which natural truth is allied to dignified mien, in which form and its rotundity are rendered with the master's best art, and some heads are admirably modelled and relieved. His perspective is telling and interesting; and comparing the Palazzo Pubblico as represented here with the same building as drawn in the time of

*¹ Of the portraits in these three groups it is possible to identify with certainty Francesco Sassetti as well as Lorenzo. Sassetti is the old man to the left of Lorenzo. It is probable that the three figures in the group on the extreme left of the fresco are the three sons of Sassetti, and that those who are mounting the stairs are, as Warburg supposes (*Bildniskunst u. Florentinisches Bürgertum*, Leipzig, 1902, i., pp. 14-16), Poliziano followed by his pupils Piero Giovanni and Giuliano de' Medici. Much more uncertain are the two last portraits in this group, which, according to Warburg, represent Matteo Franco and Luigi Pulci.

the Duke of Athens at the Stinche¹ we trace the changes which a century and a half produced in one of the principal edifices of Florence.²

Beneath this again is Ghirlandaio's masterpiece of colour, the resurrection of the child of the Spini.³ Whilst in the frescoes of the S. Fina chapel at S. Gimignano feeling predominates, grandeur and decorum absorb us here. If asked to select a grand figure from the crowd grouped together with such mastery, we should point to that on the extreme right whose cap hangs over his dress, and whose form, wrapped in a long cloak, rivals those of Masaccio in the tribute money, and recalls by grave and dignified repose the fine creations of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael. The last person on that side may be easily recognised as a likeness of Ghirlandaio himself in cap and mantle with his hand on his hip, and looking out of the picture; it is the same that may be seen in the choir of S. Maria Novella and in the Adoration of the Magi at the Hospital of the Innocenti. Looking at the group on the left we see a bevy of high-born dames, prominent amongst whom stands one in profile, in rich attire, clasping her hands and expressing in her face an exquisite confidence. At a time when we cease to ask for ideal form, because the age was essentially one of portraiture, we concede to Ghirlandaio the art of rendering the human shape and features with incomparable nobleness, without an alloy of coarseness or vulgarity. The truth in its more pleasing appearance and with great perfection of relief by light and shade is more nearly attained than in Masaccio.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the arrangement or grouping in the fresco of the death of St. Francis, which is admirable for technical skill, for modelling, for precision and truth. The noblest realism supplies the place of ideal elevation, and if the religious calm of Giotto may be sought in vain, the scene in its completeness is the grandest display of the art of its time. We may remark with what skill Ghirlandaio takes advantage of

¹ See *antea*, a fresco assigned to Giotto.

² We notice the street where the Uffizi now stands and the splendid Loggia de' Lanzi.

³ The distance shows the Ponte a S. Trinità as it stood at that time, and the child may be seen falling from a window of the building to the left.

the strong light on this side of the chapel, to model his flesh, so that it shall have all the advantages resulting from that circumstance. Some heads are painted with surprising breadth, perfect in detail, and in mass. Were it not for the staidness of the figures, we should say Raphael is the painter. But this scene as a composition invites comparison with a similar one executed by Giotto. Contrasting the death of St. Francis in the Bardi chapel with this, we see that Giotto takes the saint in a glory to heaven, and that one of the monks at the bedside looks up and tempers his grief at the departure of Francis by the knowledge that he is already on the way to heaven. Were this incident withdrawn from Giotto's fresco, its significance would be lost. Ghirlandaio neglects this episode. He increases the number of spectators about the death-bed. The scene assumes a more real appearance, but it is less true to the spirit of the time of St. Francis than that of Giotto. Abandoning prescription, he sacrifices the simplicity of the older time to the pomp of a more modern epoch, a useless and disadvantageous luxury and a surrender of the severe simplicity of the earlier artist.

We may add that the comparison is equally in favour of Giotto, if we take for contrast his meeting of Francis with the indignant Bernardone, and that which Ghirlandaio gave with less than his wonted power in the lunette of the Sassetti chapel.

Ghirlandaio, however, represents, as before remarked, the utmost perfection of the art of his time and all the progress made in the lapse of two centuries. He so fully embodies the unity of this progress in all its branches, that his influence is felt by all contemporary and subsequent artists. The mode in which he affects the sculpture of his contemporaries is clear in the pulpit at S. Croce by Benedetto da Maiano. The altarpiece which completed the decoration of the Sassetti chapel is now in the Academy of Arts at Florence. It is a fine Adoration of the shepherds, dated 1485, in the landscape distance of which the procession of the Magi may be seen advancing to the foreground. The portrait of Ghirlandaio described by Vasari is not to be found there, nor has the picture a pleasing appearance, because of the dull leaden tone caused by repeated var-

nishing; but the heads are in the style of those in the frescoes of the chapel.¹

Domenico had hardly finished this great undertaking, but he was requested to renew the choir of Sta. Maria Novella and replace the damaged masterpieces of Andrea Orcagna. The Ricci, who were patrons of the altar, and whose ancestors had left their arms on the scutcheons that studded the walls, were willing to admit that the injury which time and accidents had caused to Orcagna's frescoes, was only to be remedied by a total renewal of the chapel, but their means were no longer equal to so vast an enterprise, and they feared with reason the loss of their patronage and the erasure of their arms. When, therefore, Giovanni Tornabuoni asked them to consent to the renewal of the decorations at his expense by means of Ghirlandaio, they only acceded to his request with misgiving, and stipulated by a deed drawn up in due form that, at all events, their arms should be preserved in the most honoured place. Giovanni Tornabuoni signed the deed; and with the cunning usual to his countrymen in that age meditated the evasion of its terms. Nor had the Ricci reason to congratulate themselves in the sequel upon the fruits of their policy. The spirit of the deed was easily evaded. The arms of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci were carved in stone on the front pilasters of the choir, and those of the Ricci were lost in a small shield in front of the tabernacle of the sacrament. The rage of the Ricci when they saw the quarterings of their antagonists so prominent and theirs so humbly concealed, can scarcely have been lessened when they found that Ghirlandaio had, in addition, painted no less than twenty-one portraits of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci in the frescoes of the choir.²

¹ No. 195. Dated on a post of the penthouse, MCCCCLXXXV. VASARI calls the heads of the shepherds "cosa divina."

² The story is told by VASARI, iii., p. 260 *et seq.*

* The whole of this story of Vasari stands in need of corroboration; because in the contract entered into between Giovanni Tornabuoni and Domenico and David Ghirlandaio on September 1st, 1485—in which the painters agree to carry out the work between May, 1486, and May, 1490, for one thousand one hundred gold florins—there is no mention of frescoes by Orcagna, nor any stipulation that the walls shall be decorated with the same subjects illustrated in previous frescoes in the chapel. See CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE, *Storia della Pittura Italiana*, vii., p. 296 *et seq.* The agreement is given in full in Mr. GERALD DAVIES' *Ghirlandajo*, pp. 170, 171, 172.

In this splendid chapel Ghirlandaio places four courses of frescoes on the three walls. He divides the lower one, pierced by a long window, into seven parts, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin in the lunette; beneath it, S. Dominic and the death of Peter Martyr to the right of the window, lower down in the same order, the Annunciation and St. John the Baptist's departure to the desert; and in the lowest, portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. On the wall to the left, beginning from below, he places side by side Joachim's Expulsion from the Temple and the Birth of the Virgin; above these, in the same order, the Virgin's Presentation in the Temple and her Marriage; above these again, the Adoration of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents, concluding the series with the Death and Ascension of the Virgin in the lunette.

On the wall to the right, in the same order, are the appearance of the Angel to Zacharias, the Salutation, the Birth of St. John, Zacharias naming the Child, the Sermon in the desert, the Baptism of Christ, and the Dance of the daughter of Herodias. In the ceiling are the four Evangelists.

A minute description of this vast and admirable series might weary the reader, and occupy inordinate space. There are few but will have had occasion either to visit S. Maria Novella or to study the engravings executed with comparative care by Lasinio; but Ghirlandaio's style and artistic career are amply illustrated by these frescoes; and such comments as appear calculated to elucidate those points may be necessary and are certainly required. None who are enabled to view in their combined effect the whole of these wall paintings, will fail to admire the architectural division of the spaces by pilasters and cornices, represented perspectiveally so as to suggest the actual presence of an ornament which is merely imitated from nature. The taste with which these ornaments are conceived may be judged by reference to our illustration of the "Birth of the Virgin." But that which most surprises us is the grasp of power exhibited by Ghirlandaio in the decoration of a vast space, and the boldness which shrinks before no misgiving as to the likelihood of completing so great an undertaking. We may conceive Ghirlandaio saying, after he had done, "I wish I had the circuit of the Florentine walls to paint,"¹ and

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 270.

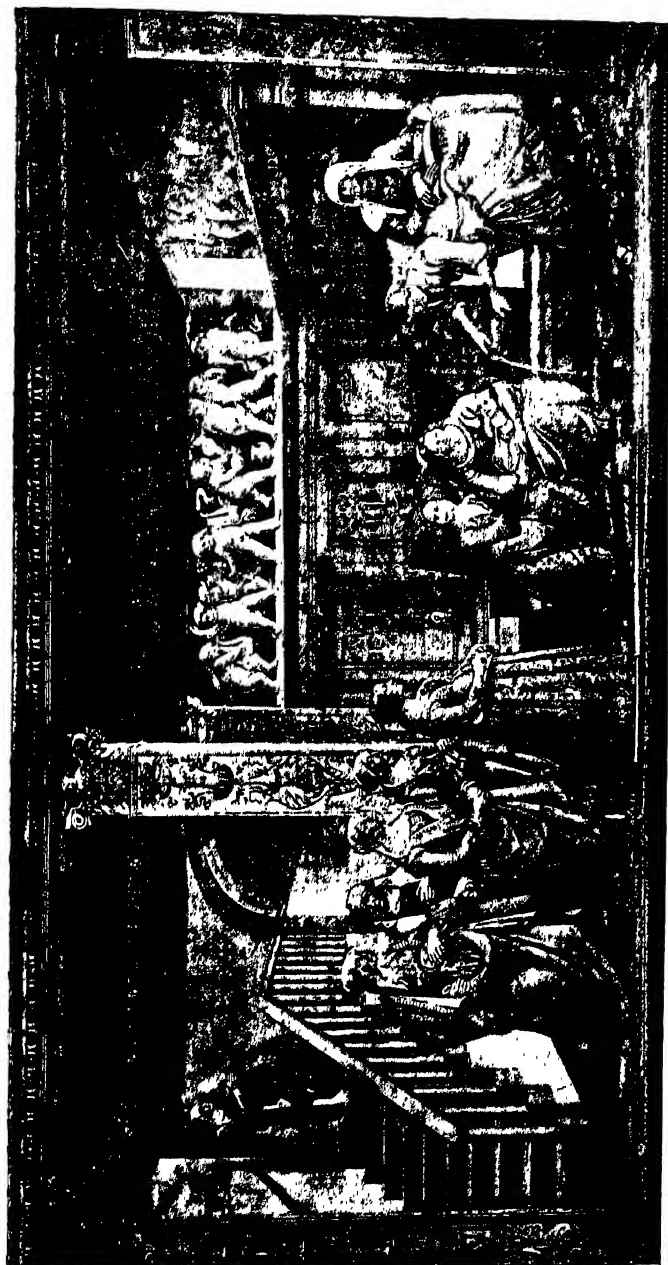
the enterprise does not seem presumptuous or impossible; but a man who could mean, as well as utter such words, must have had the fibre of Michael Angelo, and was the fit person to give that great artist his early education. It is in the choir of S. M. Novella that Ghirlandaio shows himself completely master of the art of composition, it is there that his novelty of conception and his aptitude for reproducing varied action are shown. If it were a question, where Raphael should have learnt to combine incidents, and to delineate form with its most finished precision of modelling, we would say it was in S. Maria Novella. There too, form without being ideal satisfies by dignified shape and movement and by absence of coarseness or vulgarity. Yet it must not be forgotten that here as at Rome, and in all the works of the master, the surface of colour is rough, and dimmed by time.¹ It is necessary to premise further that Ghirlandaio did not execute this work without the aid of numerous assistants, though he reserved to himself the adornment of the lower courses, because they were nearest the eye.

Most perfect in plastic form, most harmonious in colour, most powerful in the handling of impasto is the fresco of the angel appearing to Zacharias, in which the painter finds a justification for the introduction of a splendid series of portraits, in the necessity for depicting a congregation attending the service of the ministry at the altar. Without encumbering the sacred space with seats, he contrives to vary the planes upon which the spectators stand by placing some on the platform of the altar, others upon the flags below, others again ascending to the floor of the church.² To these portraits, but especially to the group of five

¹ Contrary to the practice at S. Gimignano, where the design is pounced on the wall, the drawing at S. M. Novella is traced with a style through the original cartoon which gives a broad outline. The stippling in many parts has become black; and the painting generally wants light.

² These, therefore, are half-lengths, supposed to be—on the right—Federico Sassetti, Andrea de' Medici, and Gianfrancesco Ridolfi, partners in the bank of the Medici. Left, Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino, and Gentile de' Becchi.

* The age of the person here represented precludes the idea that this figure represents Gentile de' Becchi. It is more probably some learned Greek such as Demetrio Chalcondilas or Marullo. *HAUVETTE, op. cit.*, p. 125.



THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN

BY DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

From a fresco in the Church of S. M. Novella, Florence

immediately behind and to the right of Zacharias,¹ Ghirlandaio gives rotundity and relief, exactly as Raphael afterwards did to his Leo the Tenth between Giulio de' Medici and Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi in the masterpiece of the Pitti.² The imitation of plastic form is carried out with the success of Masaccio and improved to greater precision in the working out of detail without any sacrifice of mass. The central figure of the group, indeed, is striking for harmony of colour, unity of character and of form. Equally grand is the group of four near the angel³ whose shadows are cast on the floor, showing the artist's ability in simulating play of light. True perspective gives an additional value to classic architecture.⁴

But the extent of Ghirlandaio's experience in vistas of landscape and buildings is seen to still greater advantage in the Salutation, where the progress due to a diligent study of the science of converging lines and the influence of Roman antique models,⁵ gives renewed interest to a well composed and precisely executed episode.

The use which the painter made of classic ornament is most evident in the "Birth of the Virgin," which is splendidly decorated, and admirable alike for the propriety of the vanishing lines of the

¹ Supposed to be Giuliano Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornaquinci, Gianfrancesco, Girolamo, and Simone Tornabuoni.

² No. 40 in that gallery.

³ These, according to modern judgment, are Giovanni Tornabuoni, Pietro Popoleschi, Girolamo Giachinotti and Leonardo, brother of Giovanni Tornabuoni.

⁴ On the frieze of the arch in the distance, to the right, one reads the words: AN. MCCOCLXXX., QVO PVLGHERRIMA CIVITAS OPIBUS VICTORIIS ARTIBVS. EDIFICIISQVE NOBILIS COPIA SALVBRITE PACE PERFRVEBATVR.

⁵ The design for this piece is at the Uffizi. It represents the Virgin and St. Elizabeth meeting on a terrace from which a distant view of a city and hills is gained. Three graceful females form the suite of the Virgin, on the left. Two follow St. Elizabeth and three look on, the foremost of which, in rich attire, is clearly a portrait, probably that of Ginevra de' Benci mentioned by VASARI (iii., p. 266). The three of the Virgin's suite are slightly altered by time.

* RIDOLFI (*Arch. Stor. Ital.*, 1890, serie v., t. vi., pp. 426-56) substitutes for the name of the Benci that of Giovanna degli Albizzi, wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni. Nor need the fact that Giovanna died in 1488 cause any difficulty, since Ghirlandajo has reproduced in the fresco the marvellous portrait of Giovanna executed by him in that year. This portrait, once in the Pandolfini collection, passed subsequently into Mr. Henry Willett's collection and then into the Kann collection. It is now the property of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

architecture, and the accuracy with which shadows are projected by the flow of light through an open window. One of the figures, of a girl moving forward and pouring water into a basin, is one among many illustrations of Ghirlandaio's tendency to paint drapery in its flight, imitating the stiffness of bronze; whilst the face of the nurse smiling at the babe assumes likewise an immobility almost betraying a plastic model.¹ The drawing of this piece, exhibited at Manchester,² was excessively remarkable as showing that the master in his preliminary sketch only busied himself with the general movement, and in no wise with detail,³ a peculiarity noticeable later in Michael Angelo.

Less care is expended in the treatment and handling of Joachim's expulsion from the temple than in the subjects previously examined. The two groups at the extremes are, however, full of merit, and Ghirlandaio has in one of them to the right represented himself in the attitude already assumed at S. Trinità, accompanied by Sebastian Mainardi and Baldovinetti.⁴ The figure of Joachim expelled by the priest is feeble and more in the style of Mainardi than of his master.⁵ The Birth of the Baptist in the second course is fine as a composition;⁶ the episode of Zacharias giving the name less so, being also weaker in action and execution; yet there is much individuality in the heads. Richness of composition and a lively abundance of incident are conspicuous in the Spozalizio, where many of the figures are in

* ¹ Here also we may perhaps identify, with Ridolfi, another portrait. Ludovica, daughter of Giovanni Tornabuoni, is probably represented in the young girl advancing towards the bed.

* ² Now in the British Museum, No. 878. It is reproduced in BERENSON, *Drawings*, etc., i., Plate 66.

* ³ In the ornament at the back of the room are the words BIGHORDI and GRILLANDAI.

* ⁴ Mainardi presents his head at the edge of the picture. Some critics state that the other portrait in the hanging cap of the period is not Baldovinetti, but Tommaso, Ghirlandaio's father. Note to VASARI (iii., p. 263).

* David Ghirlandajo is also represented. He is the first figure to the left in the group in which Mainardi and Baldovinetti are represented. In the other group in this fresco the first figure to the left, according to ancient tradition, is Lorenzo, son of Giovanni Tornabuoni.

* ⁵ The tone is redder and the treatment more mechanical.

* ⁶ The hand of assistants is here. The heads of the figures to the spectator's right are injured.

the modest style of Mainardi.¹ The Presentation in the Temple is also below the average of Ghirlandaio.

The Sermon of St John is one of those symmetrically balanced compositions which, combining thought, grandeur, and individuality, charms the spectator and leaves its mark on the art of its time. The Baptist, within a circle of people of all ages and sexes, stands forth and seems to warn the Pharisees. Behind him, coming out of Galilee, the Saviour advances to the spot. "All Jerusalem and Judæa"—beautiful females (on the left) communing or in thought, one in front between St. John and the spectator, watching and forgetting her child who plays naked on the ground, aged men seated on the right overlooked by two others—the more distant groups in rear, females to the left, males to the right, parted according to the rigid rules of the old church, keeping their distance by proportion of height—a fine landscape of hills with traces of sparse wood and foliage; the several parts form a picture attractive beyond measure.

The Baptism, also finely arranged, illustrates Ghirlandaio's ability in depicting nude form. The Saviour is represented as usual in a rill with the Baptist pouring water over his head; on one side two angels on their knees; on the other, the Eternal looking down from amidst the heavenly host; but close by stand those on whom the rite has been performed, two dressed, one tying the latchet of his shoe; and to the left are those awaiting their turn to be baptised. The landscape of rocks, divided into three great masses, is ably conceived to aid the effect of the three principal divisions of the group. True in proportion and outline, in shape of bone and muscular parts, Ghirlandaio's nude is a return to the unity of Giotto, without his chastened form.²

The Massacre of the Innocents, a seriously injured fresco, has not been engraved, which is a pity, for it is rich in striking episodes, in momentary action, and in the life of modern art. We still mark by the engraved outlines:—

How a rider on the extreme left has caught the hair of a dishevelled

¹ Some harsh contrasts of colour may be seen in the ground. The drawing of this fresco is at the Uffizi (No. 292).

² The glory of angels and the Eternal are feeble, the figures being hard and slender.

mother lying with her wounded child. Another soldier clings to the neck of his fallen horse, and strives to extricate himself, recalling the bold action of a similar incident in Giulio Romano's battle of Constantine. To the right again, a prostrate guard, and, near him, a female dragging at the hair of another with such rage that his body is curved backwards, and threatens to fall, whilst the arm of a companion is withheld by a female. Women fly on the extreme right. The two principal groups are united by another more distant, 'of a soldier striking at a babe in its mother's arms. The whole scene is in front of a splendid series of antique arches the terraces of which are filled with spectators.

Rich as a composition in the most modern style, the Adoration of the Magi is hopelessly damaged by the scaling of the wall and the consequent loss of the faces of Virgin, Child, St. Joseph, two Magi, and a couple of spectators. Equally grand, but equally injured, is the Death and Ascension of the Virgin.

The Dance of the daughter of Herodias presents some analogy, as regards defects, with that of Fra Filippo at Prato, but is better distributed. The rest of the paintings in the chapel, including the portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife, are more or less in bad condition.¹

The altarpiece which completed the grand decoration of the choir was removed in 1804, and is now divided between the galleries of Munich and Berlin. At Munich, we see the Virgin and Child appearing to St. Dominic, and the Magdalen,² between SS. Michael and John the Baptist. On the side panels are St. Catherine of Siena and St. Lawrence; the whole by one hand and a fine production somewhat injured by restoring.³ The reverse of the altarpiece at Berlin represents Christ's Resurrection, with St. Vincent Ferrerius and S. Antonino at the sides, vastly inferior to the parts at Munich, and apparently by assistants with the help of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio.⁴

¹ The four evangelists in the ceiling are feeble in comparison to the rest, as are the sybils of the Sassetti chapel.

* ² Not the Magdalen, but St. John the Evangelist.

³ Centre: is No. 557, Munich Gallery, wood, 6 ft. 11 in. high by 6 ft. 2 in.; St. Catherine, No. 556, wood, 6 ft. 6 in. high by 1 ft. 10 in.; St. Lawrence, No. 558, same size as 556.

⁴ The Resurrection is No. 75, wood, 7 ft. 1 in. high by 6 ft. 5 in., from the

The chapel was opened on its completion in December, 1490;¹ but the window, with designs by Ghirlandaio, executed on glass by Alessandro Fiorentino, whose name it bears, was not finished till 1491.²

We may picture the jubilant crowd of Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci, Sassetti, Medici, all of whom had sat in turns to Domenico for their portraits, present at the opening, and triumphing not less because of the splendour of the new decorations of the chapel, than because of their victory over the Ricci. We may fancy the congratulations heaped upon Ghirlandaio, the expansion of his fame, and the commissions which overwhelmed him. Yet we know of no other series of frescoes in Florence except an apotheosis of St. Francis in the Novitiate of S. Croce, which reveals his manner, and even that may be by his immediate assistants and pupils.³ When the question of remuneration for the work done in S. Maria Novella

Solly collection in the Berlin Museum; the St. Vincent, No. 74, wood, 6 ft. 8 in. high by 1 ft. 10 in.; the S. Antonino, No. 76, wood, same size as 74.

The Saviour is on a cloud, with the banner in his hand. Three of the guard are running; one still sleeps. In the distance are the Marys. The Saviour has most the character of the master, though coloured of dull tone and without relief. The soldiers are common, lean, and coarse, like those in a Resurrection at the Academy of Florence, assigned by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo. Their forms, action, and dress are all in bad taste; they are executed in a style approaching that of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio. [* Some of the figures in Benedetto's Calvary at the Louvre recall the soldiers in the Resurrection at Berlin.] No. 74 is drawn in the free style of Domenico, and is superior in this to the Resurrection. It is perhaps by Granacci (compare VASARI, v., p. 340, and see *postea*). No. 76, by a different hand and in oil, is inferior to all the other panels, and probably by Benedetto Ghirlandaio (see *postea*).

¹ See MANNI's *Life of Ghirlandaio*, in vol. xlv. of P. CALOGERA's *Opuscoli*.

² The subjects in the window are: centre, the Virgin Giving the Girdle to St. Thomas; beneath, the Circumcision and the Miracle of the Virgin "della Neve"; at the sides, SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, Lawrence, and two other Dominicans. See note to VASARI, iii., p. 261.

Numerous studies for the S. M. Novella frescoes, besides those mentioned in the text, are to be found in various collections, but need not be further described here.

³ St. Francis stands on the orb of the world, between SS. Louis, Bonaventura, and two other saints, with eight smaller figures in kneeling posture divided at each side. An inscription, stating that the novitiate was inaugurated in 1455, does not apply to the fresco, which is clearly of Ghirlandaio's school, excluding, however, Mainardi.

was raised, Giovanni Tornabuoni excused himself. In his eagerness to spite the Ricci and to gild his own family with honours, he had been lavish of promises. Domenico was to receive twelve hundred ducats certain, and two hundred more contingent on his success. Giovanni Tornabuoni admitted that he was pleased, but begged Ghirlandaio not to press for the contingent sum; and the artist nobly declared himself satisfied,¹ showing, in the ordinary business of life, the calm and repose which seems to shed its influence on his painting. If, however, he were careless of worldly accumulations and comforts, his brother David was proud of the importance reflected upon himself by abilities in which he had a humble share; and the fussy impatience with which he resented the tactless treatment of Domenico by the monks of Vallombrosa is illustrative at once of the character of the two men. The hard cakes and water soup which the abbot placed before them might possibly have been eaten without comment by the phlegmatic Domenico; it roused the ire of David, who broke the tureens on the attendant friar's head and replied to the superior's remonstrance by saying that the fame of his brother was greater than that of all the beggarly abbots of the monastery. Domenico was less sensitive and more practical, and used to tell his assistants that they were not to refuse any commission that should be brought to his shop, were it even for lady's panniers; and that, if they did not choose to accept them, he would.² We find accordingly that even during the time when the frescoes of S. Trinità and S. M. Novella were on hand, he delivered a great many altarpieces at Florence and other towns of Italy. There are indeed panels to note the style of which might indicate even an earlier time. Such, for instance, as two Madonnas between saints in S. Anna of Pisa,³ both of which seem to date from the year 1480.⁴

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 261. Ghirlandaio is described as having painted an Adoration of the Magi (round) in Casa Gio. Tornabuoni, which is not to be found (VASARI, iii., p. 258) and a small chapel "al Chiasso Maccherelli," a country seat of the Tornabuoni of which the frescoes are wellnigh totally ruined (*ibid.*, iii., p. 269).

* It has been suggested that the tondo of the Uffizi (No. 1,295) may be this picture, but this is by no means proved. ² VASARI, iii., pp. 269-70.

* ³ These are now in the Museo Civico at Pisa (Sala XI.).

⁴ The first of these represents the Virgin, with the Child in the act of benedic-

A Virgin and Child with saints in the sacristy of S. Martino at Lucca might be added to the foregoing, as it shows grace and feeling, and reminds us of the frescoes at S. Gimignano. An exquisite predella repeats one of the subjects of Peter's Liberation used by Filippino in the Carmine, but proves that Ghirlandaio was not as yet so thoroughly practised in the painter's business as his rival.¹

He begins to display more ripeness in an altarpiece representing the Madonna and saints originally in S. Giusto² and now at

tion between SS. Jerome and Joachim (left), John the Baptist [* San Raffaello] and Bernard (right), the patron kneeling with a cap in his joined hands in the right-hand foreground. The figures are lean, the tone is dull, in consequence of the great injury caused by restoring (figures three-quarters life). The second altarpiece, of size equal to the last, not free from restoring, represents the Virgin holding a white rose in her right, with the Infant on her lap, between SS. Stephen and Catherine of Alexandria, St. Lawrence, and a female decked as to the head with red roses [* Santa Rosa]. See MORRONA, *u.s.*, iii., p. 211.

VASARI mentions frescoes by Ghirlandaio in the Pisa Duomo. Of these there remain only some angels in the arch of the tribune, too much repainted to permit of criticism. Those assigned to the master on the façade of the "opera" are obliterated. Inside the Opera, an angel removed from outside is preserved, but is utterly repainted. *Vide* VASARI, iii., p. 271.

* Ghirlandaio certainly executed several works at Pisa. TANFANI CENTOFANTI (*Notizie d' artisti*, etc., Pisa, 1897, p. 144) has proved that Ghirlandaio was there in February, 1479, from November, 1492, to February, 1493, and, later, for a few more days in 1493. But the fresco of which Vasari speaks, and which represents Charles VIII. praying for the city, cannot have been painted before August, 1494 (when Charles came to Italy), whereas Ghirlandaio had died in the previous January. It is probable therefore that this fresco was executed by David Ghirlandaio. And this is the more probable, as we know that David was engaged in 1495 to paint the arms of France on the public buildings of Pisa (see the German edition of this work, iv., p. 526). A third picture by Ghirlandaio not mentioned by the authors is a St. Sebastian and St. Roch in the Museo Civico (Sala VI., No. 21). This is a feeble work, especially in the treatment of the nude. It is mentioned by VASARI (iii., p. 271).

¹ This picture, injured by restoring, represents the Virgin holding the Child erect between SS. Clement, Peter (right), Sebastian, and Paul (left). In a lunette which is not by the master, but in the mixed manner of Filippino and Botticelli, is a Pieta, i.e. the Saviour supported by the Evangelist, with four angels bearing the symbols of the Passion. In the predella, besides the subject above named, are the Martyrdom of Pope Clement, thrown into the sea by order of Trajan, the Pieta, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, and the Conversion of St. Paul. The St. Sebastian in the centre is a grand nude. See also VASARI, iii., p. 270.

* ² This picture was originally in a church of the Ingesuati outside Porta a Pinti; and to-day it still bears the name "Madonna degli Ingesuati."

the Uffizi,¹ a noble picture in which the laws of the sculptor and goldsmith are applied, the power of distribution so highly developed by Ghirlandaio is apparent, and the tones are in the perfect keeping which distinguishes all his works. It is a gay and pleasing tempera in which much of the older practice is simplified, proving the truth of Vasari's remark that Domenico had seen the disadvantage of surcharging draperies and dress with relief borders like Masolino, Fra Filippo, Benozzo, and the Pollaiuoli. An equally fine Madonna and saints painted about this time is now in the Academy of Arts,² and we may assign to the next succeeding time the splendid apotheosis of Christ adored by saints in the Badia of Volterra. The Redeemer, majestic, in a glory of angels, gives a blessing from the heavens, whilst St. Romualdo and St. Benedict stand looking or pointing upwards, and the females St. Attinia and St. Greciniana kneel in ecstasy in the foreground of a landscape. A Camaldole monk is in prayer at the right-hand corner of the picture.³ The Benedictines of Volterra owed this grand work to the generosity of Lorenzo de' Medici.⁴

The grand altarpieces completed during the progress of the works at S. M. Novella are the Adoration of the Magi, a round at the Uffizi of 1487,⁵ and the same subject in the church of the Innocenti dated 1488.

In treating of the first, we can but repeat the enumeration of

¹ No. 1,297, wood. Life-size figures, noticed by VASARI, iii., p. 257. The Virgin is enthroned, the Infant holds an orb, at the sides two angels and St. Michael, two angels and St. Gabriel. In front, adoring figures of SS. Zenobius and Justus; distance, a rich architecture and landscape. The drawing still peeps through the superposed colour, which is well and carefully modelled, but some glazes, especially those in the Virgin's head, are gone.

² No. 66. Its subject: the Virgin and Child between two angels with flowers, St. Thomas Aquinas (right) and St. Denis Areopagite (left), whilst in front kneel SS. Clement and Dominic. In the predella: the Pietà between four episodes of the saints' lives. [* The predella is a work of the bottega, and probably was painted by Bartolomeo di Giovanni. *Vide postea.*]

³ This figure represents Don Giusto Bonvicini, abbot of San Giusto of Volterra, who commissioned the picture in 1492. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 273. This picture, much injured by restorations, is now in the Musée del Palazzo dei Priori.

⁴ VASARI, iii., p. 273.

⁵ Probably for the church of Orbetello. See RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii., p. 285.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI

By DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

From an altarpiece in the Ospizio degli Innocenti, Florence

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qualities incident to the grand style of Ghirlandaio, but we may note the persistence with which he held to the method of tempera and refused to venture upon any of the innovations of the painters of his time. The altarpiece of 1487 is painted as usual on an underground of faint verde, stippled with lights and shadows, much laboured, and to a certain extent fused, but with the verde cropping up; and whereas in frescoes, a common defect is dulness of tinge, the reverse is the case here, the tones of dresses being too gaudy in their contrasts, though correct as regards their harmonic value in juxtaposition.¹

The Adoration at the Innocenti is richer in figures, more compact in distribution, and there are charming forms of children kneeling at each side of the principal group. A noble architecture and landscape enliven the distance; a cavalcade advances through the side of an arch, and far away the angel announces to the shepherds. In the fields to the right² the Innocents are massacred by order of Herod. Amongst the more distant figures of the group to the left of the Virgin, the fourth from the picture's side, is a portrait of Ghirlandaio.³ This is the finest panel by the master, being more calculated to bring out his qualities than the Visitation of 1491 at the Louvre, where the hand of assistants, and perhaps of Mainardi, may be traced, but in which we may still admire the tall commanding shape of the Virgin, the statuesque beauty of Mary, the motion of Salomé, shown not merely by the position of the limbs, but by the flight of the drapery.⁴ It is surprising to find in pictures painted so late the freshness of a man in all his strength, and to notice to the last the lingering trace of the art of the "orafa."

Domenico is one of those who sent in designs for the façade of S. Maria del Fiore in 1491.

¹ This round picture is No. 1,295, Uffizi, and is injured by retouching. The date MCCCCLXXXVII, is on a stone in the foreground. The figures are under life-size.

* ² Not to the right, but to the left.

³ Four angels, of whom two hold a scroll, form the upper glory. On a border in the arch are the ciphers of the date, MCCCCLXXXVIII. Though slightly restored, this picture is by no means injured. See VASARI, iii., p. 258; ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13; RICHA, viii., p. 128.

⁴ No. 1,321, Louvre, wood, m. 1.72 high by 1.65, figure life-size. VASARI, iii., p. 258.

The records of Prato do not explain why he did not in that year carry out the order for the altarpiece of the Franciscans del Palco,¹ nor is it ascertained for what reason we find no pictures by the master of a later date than 1491.² It may have been that he suffered from sickness, and this seems probable when we see the Tornabuoni presenting him with a hundred ducats as a token of esteem.³ Vasari describes the Visitation at the Louvre originally ordered for the church of Cestello as having been left unfinished at this time.⁴ Richa vaguely notes that Domenico was one of the restorers of the mosaics of the Florence Baptistery.⁵ The Annunciation on one of the portals of S. Maria del Fiore worked with power equal to that of the master's best works, proves his ability in all phases of his art, but bears no date.⁶ The mosaics of the chapel of S. Zanobi in S. Maria del Fiore, entrusted to Domenico, David his brother, Botticelli, and the miniaturist Gherardo, remained unfinished,⁷ but such parts as may have been carried out have disappeared; and history only records that they were left incomplete in 1494 at the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is remarkable, however, that the really practical mosaicist of the Ghirlandai family, in so far as records enable us to trace the fact, is David, who repaired the mosaics of the Duomo

¹ Executed by Filippino. See *antea*.

*² As we have already seen, the picture executed for the abbey at Volterra was painted in 1492. The great altarpiece (now at Munich and Berlin) must have been begun some time after the frescoes, perhaps in 1493 or 1494; and it was probably left incomplete at his death.

³ VASARI, iii, p. 271, says: "He laboured in Pisa, and on the façade of the opera he painted King Charles recommending Pisa. It has been supposed that the subject was an allusion to the peace signed in 1494 between Charles VIII. and Florence" (see SCHORN'S *Vasari*, ii, 2, p. 214). The painting, however, is absent.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 258

* In documents published by FABRICZY (*L'Arte*, 1906, p. 258) it is stated, on the other hand, that the picture was finished by Domenico, for the price of 80 ducats. The picture was destined for the chapel built by Lorenzo di Giovanni Tornabuoni. In the same documents are notices of the frescoes Domenico finished in 1487 for the Badia of Settimo (p. 257) and of other paintings in the church of Cestello (p. 256).

⁵ RICHIA, *Chiese*, v., p. xlii.

*⁶ It bears the date 1490. It was commissioned on July 10, 1489. See MILANESI, in VASARI, iii, p. 275.

⁷ See the record already quoted in VASARI, iii, p. 274. * It was commissioned on May 18, 1491.

of Orvieto in 1492,¹ and who undertook, in 1493, those of the façade of the Siena cathedral, assigned by Vasari to Domenico.²

The death of the great painter occurred on the 11th of January, 1494, and as he fell a victim to the plague he was buried secretly and silently at midnight in the church of Santa Maria Novella.³

Domenico had been twice married; to Costanza,⁴ who died in 1485, and to Antonia, a widow at S. Gimignano. His descendants formed a long and honourable line ending in convents and monasteries in the seventeenth century.⁵

A number of works which have not found a place in the foregoing narrative may be classed as follows:—

FLORENCE, *Galleria Pitti*. No. 358. Braccia 1.13–6 in diam. Round. Adoration of the Magi, with a slight variation, repeated from that of the Uffizi (No. 1,297), but not so able.⁶

ROMINI, *Palazzo Pubblico*.⁷ St. Dominic between St. Sebastian and another saint, under niches on a feigned altar of marble. A lunette now parted from the body of the piece represents the Eternal. Three compartments at the base, injured by scaling, are filled with incidents from the lives of the saints. The picture is not one of Ghirlandaio's best, but hasty in execution and conveying the impression that assistants had an extensive part in it.

VOLTERRA, *Duomo*. *Cappella S. Carlo*.⁸ The Virgin and Child between SS. Bartholomew and Anthony the abbot is by an inferior painter of the time in the mixed styles of Ghirlandaio, Filippino, and Cosimo Rosselli.

MODENA, *Gallery*. No. 25. Wood, m. 0.84 in diam. Round. A very poor Nativity coarsely worked by a feeble artist, only noticed because catalogued.

¹ Note to VASARI, iii., p. 274.

² See the contract in *Doc. Sen*, u.s., ii., p. 452. Of pictures by Ghirlandaio at Siena we know nothing. There are no traces of frescoes in Palazzo de' Spannocchi. (VASARI, iii., p. 275.)

³ *Tav. Alfab.*, Art. Ghirlandaio.

⁴ Costanza di Bartolomeo Nucci.

⁵ See the root of the family in *Com.* to VASARI, iii., pp. 282, 283.

⁶ This must be regarded as a school repetition.

⁷ VASARI, iii., p. 273. [* This picture represents St. Vincent Ferrer between St. Sebastian and St. Roch.]

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii., p. 273. [* This picture is now in the Palazzo dei Priori.]

ROME, *Galleria Colonna*. No. 14, Rape of the Sabines, and No. 11, Peace between the Romans and Sabines. These are two small oblongs assigned to Ghirlandaio, but probably by Cosimo Rosselli.¹

MUNICH, *Gallery*. No. 1,009. Pietà assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino, see *antea*.²

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 88. Wood, 5 ft. 10 in. high by 5 ft. 9 in. Solly collection. The Virgin and Child in a glory of five cherubim, adored from below by the erect SS. John Evangelist and Baptist, the kneeling SS. Francis and Jerome. The arrangement of the Virgin, with the naked Infant grasping her neck, is repeated from the Tornabuoni altarpiece at Munich and similar to that in a picture by Mainardi in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano.³ It is an arrangement of a pleasing kind, possibly carried out in the Berlin picture with Mainardi's assistance, being less masterly than that of Munich. The two standing saints are clearly weak productions of assistants, being poorly drawn especially as to hands and feet. The kneeling saints, in oil, are by Granacci.⁴

BERLIN, *same museum*. No. 84. Wood, 5 ft. 5½ ins. high by 6 ft. 9 ins.; from the Solly collection. Virgin, Child, and saints. This picture, of all those assigned to Ghirlandaio in this Gallery, most truly represents his manner, but the outlines are hard, the colour sharp and of a dusty red in shadow. The hand of apprentices appears in the figures of saints.

BERLIN, *same museum*. No. 68. Wood, 6 ft. 6 ins. high by 4 ft. 10 ins.; from the Solly collection. Virgin and Child between two saints, inferior to Domenico, but recalling Mainardi at his school.

BERLIN, *same museum*. No. 83. Wood, 1 ft. 5 ins. high by 1 ft. ¾ in. Profile, bust portrait of a female supposed to be a member of the Tornabuoni family.⁵ A repetition of the same belonged to W. D. Lowe, Esq.,

*¹ They are by Bartolomeo di Giovanni. *Vide postea*.

*² Possibly this may be the Pietà assigned to Ghirlandaio by RICHIA (ix., p. 177) in his time at S. Frediano of Florence. * It is rightly assigned to Filippino in the 1908 catalogue. ³ See *postea*.

*⁴ Jacobsen would date this picture about 1513, because he believes that Sogliani had a share in the picture, and painted the two standing saints, but it seems to us that there is no evidence to support this theory. See JACOBSEN, *Jahrbuch d. K.K. Preuss. Kunst.*, 1904, pp. 185 *et seq.*

*⁵ Neither this portrait nor the other at Altenburg is by Ghirlandajo. We possess, however, some portraits that are certainly by him. The finest of these is the portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi, which is in Mr. Morgan's collection. At the Louvre (No. 1,322) is a portrait of an old man lovingly embracing a child who looks at him with curiosity. This picture is full of expression, and the modelling of the heads is well done. Similar to the Louvre picture, but not quite of the same

and was at Manchester (66),¹ assigned to Masaccio. Both are by some pupil whose handling is naturally below that of Ghirlandaio.

BERLIN, *same museum*. No. 86. Wood, 1 ft. 9 in. high by 1 ft. 4½ ins. Portrait of a man in the character of the foregoing.

BERLIN, *same museum*. No. 21. Wood, 1 ft. 3½ ins. high by 11 ins. Assigned to A. Mantegna, dated 1489, and engraved in D'Agincourt (Pl. CXL.), Judith carrying the head of Holofernes. This piece is of Ghirlandaio's school, and clearly a Florentine work. It is in tempera of a dull tone.

ALTENBURG, *Pohlhof*. Portrait of a lady in profile with a halo about her head and the wheel of St. Catherine. She looks out of a window to the left, and to the right through an opening a landscape is seen. She wears a tunic of light cool green, and her sleeve of white stuff is finely puckered. With her right hand she holds a box on the window-sill. This magnificent portrait, assigned to Ghirlandaio, is very grandly designed and executed, but is more in the manner of the Tuscan followers of Piero della Francesca, the Pollaiuoli, or Castagno, yet we cannot say that either of the last-named is the painter; on wood, tempera, life-size.

DRESDEN, *Gallery*. No. 29. Wood, 2 ft. 9 in. diameter. Round, tempera, Virgin and Child and St. Joseph. Poor; by some pupil of Sebastian Mainardi, and so recalls the school of Domenico.

VIENNA, *Harrach collection*. By the same hand as the foregoing. The Virgin adoring the Infant who lies on the ground, St. Joseph on one side, the pent-house and the usual episodes in distance; figures one-fourth of life-size. This is a more pleasing picture than that of Dresden. The flesh tones in the face and hands of the Virgin are retouched.

SCHLEISSHEIM, No. 1,252. The dead Christ on the lap of the Virgin. This is a German copy of an Italian picture.

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 296. The Virgin Adoring the Infant Christ, assigned with a query to Ghirlandaio, but not by him.²

quality, is a painting in Mr. Benson's collection which is believed to represent Francesco Sassetti and his son. A fine portrait of a young woman, recalling certain figures in the frescoes in Florence, is in the National Gallery (No. 1,230). This panel also is by Ghirlandaio. But we cannot see the master's own hand in a much-restored portrait of a young man in the same gallery (No. 1,299), nor in that female portrait in the Salting collection, which, if its inscription be genuine, is a portrait of Costanza de' Medici.

¹ See *antea*. [* Another replica is at Paris, belonging to the Marchesa Arconati-Visconti.]

² See *antea*, in Peselli and Verrocchio.

LONDON, *Late Barker collection*. Life-size Virgin and Child, between SS. John Baptist, Buonaventura, James, Catherine, angels above at the sides of an arch in perspective. This picture, with the stamp of Ghirlandaio's school, is hard and raw in colour. The SS. John and Catherine, the first especially, are in the master's style, but the hardness apparent in the rest recalls the youth of Granacci.

LONDON, *Sir Charles L. Eastlake's collection*. Virgin and Child, half-length, life-size, weighty figures lightly coloured and shadowed in a bluish-grey, the head of the Virgin pleasing, a step below Ghirlandaio, but a fine picture.

OXFORD, *University Gallery*. St. Nicholas and St. Dominic. These panels are assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, but are by some feeble follower of his school.

NEWBATTLE, *Marquis of Lothian*. St. George in Armour. See *postea*, Mainardi.

PARIS, *Collection of Mr. Reiset*. A Virgin and Child in the character of the foregoing. Though a softness different from that of Mainardi may be noted in these two productions, his name may not be excluded.¹

We may conclude with a notice of a large altarpiece in S. Girolamo of Narni² representing the Coronation of the Virgin, and crowded with about a hundred figures in a rich architectural arch supported on pilasters, filled with cherubs and figures (6) of saints. The Saviour crowns the Virgin in the midst of a glory beneath a vast dais, supported by two angels. Innumerable people stand or kneel below. In a predella is the Resurrection, St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and St. Jerome in the Desert.

This vast and well-preserved tempera, assigned to Spagna because of a likeness of subject and groups between it and two other Coronations by him in Todi and Trevi is feebly distributed and painted in a cold yellowish tone with little relief of light or shade by assistants in the school of Ghirlandaio.³ The name of Spagna was confirmed, for a time, by a statement that a record existed proving the fact. But this is not so. A record exists and may be found at length in Lorenzo Leoni's *Memorie storiche*

*¹ This picture is now in the collection at Chantilly.

*² This picture is now in the small collection at the Municipio.

*³ A document published by Milanese (VASARI, iii., p. 276) confirms the fact that the picture came from Ghirlandajo's *bottega*, and proves that it was finished on or before June 3, 1486.

di Todi,¹ in which "Magister Joannes *alias* Spagna, the Spaniard" is commissioned to paint a "table" like that of S. Girolamo of Narni. It does not therefore say that the Narni picture is by Spagna,² nor ought we to confound the Umbrian style of that master apparent in the Coronations of Todi and Trevi with the Florentine manner of the Narni altarpiece.³

Ghirlandaio's pupils and assistants include his brothers David and Benedetto, Granacci, of whom we shall speak later, and Jacopo del Indaco (of whom nothing is known). We have already had occasion to trace the hand of Domenico's favourite disciple Sebastian Mainardi in some of the greatest undertakings of the time. He was in certain cases confounded with his master, especially in the frescoes of the Baroncelli chapel at S. Croce,⁴ representing St. Thomas kneeling before the tomb and receiving the girdle from the Virgin in glory. In a series of slender but somewhat meaningless figures larger than life the painter here succeeds in suggesting memories of Ghirlandaio. We find the same style in two saints flanking a St. Jerome by another hand in Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, large and weighty personages in ill-cast draperies coloured in leaden tones and mechanically executed. Though assigned to Cosimo Rosselli they might have been designed by Mainardi in the shop of his brother-in-law after 1490.

¹ *Todi* 8^{c.}, 1856, p. 119.

² It has been assigned by ORSINI in his *Perugian Guide* to Raphael. See also PASSAVANT's *Life of Raphael*, i., p. 509.

³ The following works by Ghirlandaio, as noticed by VASARI, are not now to be traced: At S. Croce, to the right of the entrance, a story of S. Paolino. (VASARI, iii., p. 255, and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 15.) In the same church, a small Visitation (RICHA, i., p. 238), in S. M. Ughi, Florence, a Virgin and Child between two angels, restored in 1731 by F. M. Pacini (RICHA, iii., p. 183). Arte de' Linaiuoli, Florence, a tabernacle (VASARI, iii., p. 259). Compagnia di S. Lorenzo in S. M. Novella, an altarpiece (RICHA, iii., p. 104). Compagnia della Scala, a Madonna (*ibid.*, iii., p. 108). Badia di Settimo, frescoes in the choir and two altarpieces (VASARI, iii., p. 271). S. Maria Nuova, Florence, a St. Michael in armour (*ibid.*, iii., p. 272, and ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, p. 13). Badia di Passignano (VASARI, iii., p. 272). [*But see *antea*, p. 310, note 5.] Altarpiece for the Signori de' Carpi (*ibid.*, iii., p. 273).

⁴ Assigned by ALBERTINI, *Mem.*, *u.s.*, p. 14, to Ghirlandaio. The St. Thomas is in a good state, the dresses of the first and second angel from below—of the Eternal—are repainted. VASARI says that Mainardi used Ghirlandaio's cartoon for this piece (iii., p. 275).

We cannot distinguish his hand from that of his master in the Cappella Santa Fina at San Gimignano, but we do so in the Annunciation of 1482 which adorns the oratory of San Giovanni in the Pieve.

A fresco in which the spirit of Ghirlandaio almost seems to have passed into his pupil is that which adorns a tabernacle in the Via S. Giovanni at S. Gimignano, representing a life-size Virgin and Child in glory, above a landscape. Part of a saint still remains in the side of the arch. We may continue the record of Mainardi's work¹ as follows:

S. GIMIGNANO, *Pieve, Choir*.² Altarpiece of a Virgin and Child in glory, as in the Tornabuoni panel at Munich and in the panel (88) at Berlin, with SS. Gimignano, Nicholas, Mary Magdalen (left), Fina, John the Baptist, and another saint (right, life-size). This piece imitates Ghirlandaio's style, but the colour is dull and leaden and redder than in previous pictures.

S. GIMIGNANO *Gallery, Nos. 8 and 9*. Two rounds—a Virgin and Child, all but life-size, the latter in benediction, between pretty angels, originally in S. M. de' Lumi; the most graceful creation of the master perhaps; and a Virgin attended by an angel with the Child patting the infant Baptist on the chin; inferior to the foregoing and of reddish tone. The St. John particularly is heavy and large headed.

PARIS, *Louvre*. No. 1,367. M. 0·92 in diameter. Round, slightly varying from the above, with three angels and a colonnade in the distance.

NAPLES, *Museum, Tuscan School, No. 9*. Round, repetition of the last-mentioned.³

LONDON, *formerly at Dudley House*. Virgin, Child, and an infant Baptist under the name of Pesellino (see *antea*), superior to those just described and finished with great care, but marked by heavy character in the form and head of the Baptist.

OXFORD, *University, No. 21*. St. Bartholomew and St. Julian. These panel temperas, assigned to the school of Raphael and greatly damaged by repainting, are fragments of some altarpiece in the manner of Mainardi. Figures life-size.

*¹ This list has no pretensions to completeness. For example, the authors have omitted the picture in the Uffizi of SS. Stephen, James, and Peter Martyr (No. 1,315), and also the Madonna of the Weber collection (No. 30), and other works which, like those named, are now given by general consent to Mainardi.

*² This picture is now in the sacristy.

*³ Similar to these two tondi is a third in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna.



THREE SAINTS

BY SEBASTIANO MAINARDI

From a picture in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence

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NEWBATTLE, *Marquis of Lothian*. Wood, half-length. St. George in armour. This panel exhibited at the International Exhibition of Dublin as Ghirlandaio is by Mainardi.

S. GIMIGNANO, *S. Agostino, Cappella S. Bartolo*. Here is a fresco representing St. Lucy between SS. Gimignano and Nicholas of Bari on the wall to left of the chapel, and the four doctors of the church on the ceiling. In this piece Mainardi exhibits decline of power. The St. Lucy recalls the Virgin of the Presentation in S. M. Novella. The figures are long and slender, and the heads small. A rude style, inky shadows, and absence of mass in chiaroscuro, brick-red flesh colour, are some of the prominent defects. The St. Jerome is the least defective figure in the ceiling; an inscription now obliterated used to run as follows: S. B. M. G. H. O. F. A. D. MCCCC.¹

S. GIMIGNANO, *S. Agostino*. In the same character as the foregoing, beneath the organ, a fresco of S. Gimignano enthroned, and adored by three figures of Matteo Lupi, Domenico Mainardi, and Nello Nelli de' Cetti, with the date of 1487 in the border, and beneath it, a recumbent figure of Domenico Strambi on a tomb. This is a common production, the counterparts of which, St. Peter Martyr between the Augustine monk F. Giunta and the Dominican F. G. Coppi, on the wall near the bell room and dated 1488, has disappeared.²

BERLIN, *Museum*, No. 77. Wood, 2 ft. 8 in. high by 1 ft. 6 in.; from the Solly collection. A pretty Virgin erect caressing the Child sitting by her on a parapet is in the style of the two rounds at the S. Gimignano Gallery. Sharp in tone and with bistre shadows.

BERLIN, *Museum*, No. 86. Wood, 1 ft. 4½ in. high by 1 ft. ½ in.; from the Rumohr collection. Portrait of a youth, fine. Besides these there are portraits assigned in various galleries³ to Ghirlandaio which may be by Mainardi, as at Rome Palazzo Barberini, portrait of a man.

ROME, *Museo Cristiano, Press VII*.⁴ A Nativity—the Virgin adoring the Child, St. Joseph on the other side of it, and above, five singing angels. Genuine.

Mainardi is supposed to have died about 1515.⁵

¹ PECORI, *u.s.*, p. 545. [* The signification of the inscription is: "Sebastianus Bartholi Mainardi Geminianensis Hoc opus fecit Anno Domini. . ."]

² PECORI, *u.s.*, p. 540.

³ Berlin Museum, No. 85, a bust of a prelate turned three-quarters to the left (CROWE AND CAVALCABRILLE, Italian edition, vii., p. 497).

⁴ This picture is now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana.

⁵ PECORI, *u.s.*, p. 496. [* Mainardi died in September, 1513. See MILANESI in VARARI, iii., p. 277.]

In the chapel of the Palazzo del Podestà at Florence are a Virgin and Child, and a St. Jerome painted like a picture from the atelier of Ghirlandaio. The first is dated: AN. SAL. M.CCCCXC.; the second is inscribed: ALEXANDRINI PTORIS FLORENTINI. A. D. MCCCCLXXXX.¹ We may assign to the same hand the following:

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts*. A Virgin and Child between the kneeling SS. Francis and Catherine, SS. Matthew and Louis erect, dated: A DI XX DI SETTEMBRE MCCCCLXXXIII. From San Matteo in Arcetri.

Returning to S. Gimignano, another painter, deriving his style from the school of Ghirlandaio, but of feeble powers, is Pietro di Francesco,² by whom a Virgin and Child between six saints may be seen in S. Agostino. This work bears the painter's name and the date 1494, and is excessively rude. The predella contains the Pietà, Resurrection, Ascension, and four half-lengths of saints. A half-length of the Virgin and Child by this artist is in the S. Gimignano Gallery. A Virgin and Child taking the breast, in his style, but more pleasing because of the Virgin's regular forms, and something in the manner reminiscent of Botticelli, is in the Oratorio of S. Maria at Pancole. A Pietà in this character is in the Pretorio at Certaldo (assigned without grounds to Giusto d'Andrea in com. to VASARI, iii., p. 54, note 4). A Virgin and Child between saints in the Pieve at Empoli³ is of this class.⁴

*¹ The St. Jerome (and perhaps also the Madonna) is by Mainardi. Of Alessandro we know that he was employed by the Opera del Duomo as a worker in stained glass from 1478 to 1515, and that his full name was Sandro di Giovanni di Andrea Agolanti; but we do not know that he was also a painter. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 261. The "Ptoris" ought probably to be read "Pretoris."

*² Of Pier Francesco Fiorentino, "who in his first works showed a desire to follow the manner of Domenico Ghirlandajo, and later that of Benozzo Gozzoli and Botticelli" (OWEN AND CAVALCASELLE, Italian edition, vii., p. 498), exist certainly several other works (such as, for example, that of Montefortino, which is signed); but they are not so numerous as Mr. Berenson would have us believe (BERENSON, *Florentine Painters*, 1909, pp. 166-72). Pier Francesco Fiorentino's works rarely rise above a very mediocre level; and it is only in those rare pictures of his that have mythological subjects that he shows much originality and charm.

*³ This picture is now in the museum attached to the church.

*⁴ In the Louvre, No. 155, (wood, m. 1.35 high by 1.47), is a Virgin and Child, once catalogued under the name of Gozzoli with SS. Lawrence, Peter Martyr, Blaise, and John Evangelist, a gable work by Fra Francesco of Florence.

* The questions relating to the pupils of Domenico Ghirlandajo are numerous and difficult. It is not always possible to distinguish with certainty the work of Mainardi from that of Domenico. Of Benedetto Ghirlandajo's French period we have learned something, and thanks to WARBURG (*Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, p. 85) we know his picture at Aigueperse; but we have no knowledge of his work during the



THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN

By BARTOLOMEO DI GIOVANNI

From a picture in the Ospizio degli Innocenti, Florence

period when he collaborated with his brother. Recently we have had some light thrown on David Ghirlandajo. A document of the Archivio of S. Maria Novella enables us to identify a work of David of the year 1494, the Sta. Lucia adored by the donor Tommaso Cortesi, which is in the Rucellai chapel at S. Maria Novella. (See G. POGGI in *Rivista d'Arte*, 1903, p. 70.)

Much more important is the discovery of the document that proves that the seven parts of the predella of the Adoration of the Magi at the Innocenti are by Bartolomeo di Giovanni (G. BRUSCOLI, *L'Adorazione dei Magi*, etc., *Per le nozze Canevaro-Ridolfi*, Florence, 1902). Thus is brought to light a new personality to whom Mr. Berenson has seen fit to give the name of "Alunno di Domenico." Taking this predella as a starting-point, it is not difficult to recognise several other works of this master, such as the two cassone panels of the Rape of the Sabines and the Peace between the Romans and the Sabines, in the Colonna Gallery at Rome, and some parts of the cassone pictures of the story of Nastagio degli Onesti, the two cassone pictures of the Louvre of the Triumph of Venus (No. 1,416B) and the Marriage of Thetis (No. 1,416A), and certain predelle of altarpieces of Domenico, such as the predelle of the altarpieces of the Duomo of Lucca of the Florence Academy (No. 67), and perhaps also that of Narni.

In these works we find a vivacity and lively narrative gift which contrasts with the calmness and dignity of Ghirlandajo. The movement of the figures suggests Botticelli, and the types, too, are different from those of Domenico. The faces are longer in Bartolomeo's works and the eyes are less open.

In addition to these four principal assistants, Domenico had other coadjutors, such as, we believe, the Maestro del Trionfo della Castità, so named from the cassone of that subject, which is divided between the National Gallery, the Turin Gallery, and the Palazzo Adorno in Genoa. Toesca gives to this master two little pictures in the Crespi collection at Milan, which are those attributed to Mainardi. (See TOESCA, *Ricordi di un viaggio in Italia*, in *Arte*, 1903, p. 246.)

CHAPTER XV

BENOZZO GOZZOLI AND HIS ASSISTANTS

AN artist versatile in the appropriation and absorption of pictorial features characteristic of divers masters and periods, may be powerful as a machine, prolific by nature; he is seldom great, and never original. Such an artist may excite surprise by the readiness with which he assumes and forsakes a manner, by the rapidity of his execution and the consequent fecundity which it engenders; he cannot claim a high place in the history of art; and thus, whilst we acknowledge in Domenico Ghirlandaio the talents which form an epoch, we concede to Benozzo Gozzoli little more than industry and an aptitude for collecting and superficially applying, with the aid of a somewhat extravagant fancy, the gains acquired by the united energy of the painters of the fifteenth century. The principal interest which might attach in our eyes to the works of Benozzo is due to their influence on a certain section of Umbrian painters; and it is curious to remark that whilst the example of Giotto left little or no trace in Assisi and its neighbourhood, that of a second rate Florentine of a later time produced an impress equally strong and lasting, proving a greater facility in painters of these parts to assimilate a showy and coarse style than a pure and great one.

Gozzoli's real name is Benozzo di Lese di Sandro. He was born at Florence in 1424,¹—followed, as we have seen, Fra Giovanni to Rome,² and acted as his assistant at Orvieto in 1447.³

¹ So according to his father's income paper of 1470, in 1420 according to his own of 1480. [* But other *Portate al Catasto* of 1430 and 1433 give the date of birth as 1420, and this is certainly the correct date. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 46.]

* ² Before 1447 Benozzo worked in Ghiberti's bottega. (See a contract for three years of 1444, in MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 505, and iii., p. 45.)

³ VASARI (iii., p. 47) says Benozzo painted a fresco in the Cappella Cesarini,



MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA

By BENOZZO GOZZOLI

From a picture in the Vatican Gallery, Rome

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In 1449 he parted from his old master to seek his own fortune; and, with more instinct than luck, applied to the council of the Duomo of Orvieto for permission to complete the unfinished labours of Angelico.¹ Unsuccessful in this attempt, Benozzo, then in the flower of his age, proceeded, not to Florence, the Mecca of artists, but to Montefalco, near Foligno in Umbria, whither he was led, no doubt, by his early connection with the Dominicans, and the hope that the recommendation of Angelico might be of service to him. In this comparatively solitary spot he settled in 1449, and obtained instant employment. In S. Fortunato, about a mile from the town, he painted a Virgin and Child amongst saints and angels above the portal,² an apotheosis of S. Fortunato on the altar of that name,³ an Annunciation in fresco on one of the walls,⁴ and St. Thomas receiving the girdle⁵

at Araceli in Rome representing St. Anthony and two angels in a niche above the altar. The heads in this piece are the only parts that are not repainted; and they reveal Benozzo's hand, as do likewise traces of paintings on the lunettes of the portals, but it is to be remarked that according to Casimiro in Plattner and Bunsen's Rome (iii., 1^o Abth^e, p. 357) the Cesarini only became possessed of this chapel in 1490. A predella in the Gallery of the Vatican representing a story of St. Hyacinth assigned to Benozzo is by a Ferrarese artist of this time (*Francesco del Cossa), of whom we may have occasion to speak.

* The pictures in the Cappella Cesarini were certainly not commissioned by Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, who died in 1444. These frescoes were probably not executed until ten years later.

¹ On the 3rd of April, 1449 [* not April, but July], his application is met by a request that he shall give proof of his skill. See DELLA VALLE'S *Duomo di Orvieto*, pp. 131 and following, and 310, and *Com.* to Angelico's life in VASARI, ii., p. 531.

² This fresco is on the portal outside the church, and the seven angels forming the glory are injured by the scaling of the colour of the dresses. The Virgin and Child are between SS. Francis and Bernardino. This and the rest of the paintings in the church are clearly of the same period.

³ All but the head of S. Fortunato is repainted by a restorer of the eighteenth century.

*⁴ The Annunciation is lost. The authors omit to mention, however, the fresco on the right of the entrance of the Virgin and an Angel Adoring the Child, which is one of the most attractive of the early works of the master, being one in which he approaches most nearly to Fra Angelico. Beneath it is a decorative frieze similar to that which frames the frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V.

⁵ This altarpiece is now in the Galleria Vaticana at Rome. The usual garland of playing and singing angels is about the Virgin. Six saints are in the pilasters, and of six predella scenes the Sposalizio is slightly damaged. The drawing is accurate and shows less defective form, less immobility and less

on the altar. The fastidiousness of the Orvietans becomes almost inexplicable in presence of these creations, which are amongst the best that Benozzo ever produced. Deeply imbued with the lessons of Angelico, he does not equal the master who guided his early years, but he follows his manner to the best of his inferior talents. Depicting the kneeling angel of the Annunciation he comes as near the mark of Fra Giovanni as possible, keeping the form without the intense feeling of the Dominican, painting with colour more lively and less coarse than that which marks his later works.¹ The monastery of S. Francesco at Montefalco was the next scene of his labours, and there he filled the hexagonal choir with a triple course of episodes from the life of St. Francis, copious adjuncts of saints in the ceiling and window, and portraits in medallions along the lower skirting of the principal subject and in the vaulting of the entrance arch. Scrolls held by angels in the pilasters of the entrance contain inscriptions from which it appears that Benozzo's patron was the Franciscan Jacopo di Montefalco, and that the whole choir was completed in 1452. The spirit which animates the master is still the religious and kindly one derived from contact with Angelico, and some of the compositions, such as the fine one of St. Francis' birth, the rich one of his death, and the quarrel with Bernardone, are worthy of admiration, whilst others, of the saint supporting the falling church, or expelling the devils from Arezzo, are reminiscent of Giotto.²

angularity of drapery than later examples. Still prettier are the predella scenes, which appear like slightly inferior reductions from originals by Angelico. The picture indeed has been assigned to him.

¹ The Virgin is seated on the left on a throne, in the pediment of which are the words: BENOZZII D... FLORENTIA ..CCCC. The angel kneeling to the right plays a tambourine. The figures are all but life-size, under an arch, with a landscape like those of Angelico. The left side is cut down by an altar.

² The scenes from St. Francis' life fill four sides of the choir, beginning on the lower course of the nearest left side with the birth, and ending with his death in the lunette of the nearest side to the right. The order of the subjects is as follows: (1) Lower course, the birth, and the episode of the cloak thrown on the ground for Francis to walk upon. (2) St. Francis gives his dress to the poor. He sees a palace in a dream. (3) He is protected from his father's anger by the bishop of Assisi. (4) Meeting of SS. Francis and Dominic, and the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts. Second course also from left to right. (5) St. Francis supporting

There is clear evidence indeed of Benozzo's esteem for the patriarch of Florentine painting, in the fact that his portrait by the side of Dante's and Petrarch's fills a medallion in the base of the choir window and bears the inscription: *PICTORUM EXIMIUS JOTTUS FUNDAMENTUM ET LUX*. The execution is more hasty and the action more realistic than at S. Fortunato; and one scene on the side nearest the right pilaster, representing the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts of the Eternal with her cloak, is marked at once by rigidity of form, by defective extremities, by hard colour and wiry outline, by angular draperies and a vulgarity of thought or shape which become more frequent at a later period. Nor is it less interesting to note, in this series, and in the portal fresco of S. Fortunato, originals which carried Angelico's manner at second hand into Umbria—the very best creations of a class which comprises Pietro Antonio and Alunno of Foligno, the Boccati of Camerino, and Matteo of Gualdo. But Benozzo did not paint the choir of S. Francesco alone, he also furnished the chapel of St. Jerome in that edifice with a fresco of the Madonna and saints simulating an altarpiece on its altar, a Crucifixion above it, four evangelists in the coiling, scenes from the life of St. Sebastian on the pilasters, and figures of saints in the vaulting of the en-

the falling church. (6) Expelling devils from Arezzo. (7) St. Francis and the sparrows. St. Francis blessing the donor Jacopo di Montefalco and Marco, who kneel before him. (8) St. Francis and the Cavalier of Celano. Lunettes: (9) The nativity at Greccio. (10) St. Francis before the Soldan. (11) St. Francis receiving the Stigmata. (12) Death of St. Francis. On the base of each of the four sides are five medallion portraits of Dominicans, three at the base of the window, of Petrarch, inscribed: *LAVREATVS, PETRARCA OMNIVM VIRTVT. MONARCA*. He wears a laurel crown; of Dante, full face, inscribed: *THEOLOGVS DANTES NVLLIVS DOGMATIS EXPENS*. These portraits were all repainted by the so-called restorer Caratoli in 1858; as indeed are all the frescoes more or less. Amongst the six saints in the window side is one of St. Soverus, the design for which is in the collection of drawings at the British Museum. The scrolls held vertically by angels in the pilasters contain these words—that to the right: *IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMÆ TRINITATIS IHC CÆPELLAM PINXIT DENOTIVS FLORENTINVS SVB ANNIS DOMINI MILLESIMO QUADRINGENTESIMO QUINQUAGESIMO SECVNDO. QUALIS SIT PICTOR PREFATVS ASPICE LECTOR*. That to the left: *AD LAVDEM OMIPOTENTIS DEI BEATISSIMUM . . . HOC OPVS FECIT FIERI FRATER JACOBVS DE MONTEFALCONE ORD. MINOR*. An inscription at the base of each fresco describes its subject. The saints in the vaulting are SS. Francis in glory, Anthony, Catherine, Bernardino, Rosa of Viterbo, and Louis.

trance.¹ Benozzo still shows the comparative inferiority of his talent in the coarse type, the false anatomy and proportion of the Redeemer, and in the wooden mask of the infant Christ. He repeats the Evangelists of Fra Giovanni in the chapel of Nicholas the Fifth at Rome, and labours in the water-colour system of his master. The character of the decorations at S. Francesco, of which the earliest are no doubt those of the chapel of St. Jerome, is that of a work throughout by Gozzoli; but the painter had even thus early an assistant, and Pietro Antonio stands in the same relation to him as Benozzo to the Dominican of Fiesole.² His stay at Montefalco may have extended till 1456,³ when, for a Perugian church, he finished a Madonna with saints, now in the gallery (Sala VII., No. 20) of that city, the prettiness and careful handling of which rival those of S. Fortunato.⁴ Shortly afterwards⁵ he became a resident in his native city.⁶

¹ At the side of the Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, Jerome, and two other saints, and overlooked by an Eternal in a pinnacle between four doctors of the church, are two scenes from S. Jerome's life, one of these, where he extracts the thorn from the lion's paw. On the pediment are five scenes from the lives of the saints, the whole inscribed on the upper cornice: OPVS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA. Lower, at the side, are the words: CONSTRUCTA ET DEPICTA EST HÆC CAPPELLA AD HONOREM GLORIOSI HIERONYMI M.CCCC.LII. A 1^o NOV. Above the Madonna, the Redeemer crucified, four angels and a kneeling monk at each side of the foot. In the pilasters of the chapel are the martyrdom of St. Sebastian and other incidents from his life. Amongst the saints in the arch vaulting, SS. Catherine and Bernardino, with the Eternal in the key. The work is injured here and there.

*² For another picture, a Coronation of the Virgin, see CARTIER, *Vie de Fra Angelico*, p. 432. This picture is now lost.

*³ It seems that Benozzo left Montefalco in 1453 (see WINGENROTH, *Die Jugendwerke d. Ben. Gozzoli*, Heidelberg, 1897), for in that year he was summoned to Viterbo to paint scenes from the life of S. Rosa. In the reconstruction of the church in 1632 the paintings were destroyed, but drawings were made from them which were published in 1872 in a very rare pamphlet, *Descrizione di nove storie di S. Rosa con commentario storico*, and more recently by R. PAPINI, in *L'Arte* (1910, i., p. 29).

*⁴ The Virgin and Child is between the kneeling saints, Peter, John the Baptist, Jerome, and Paul. On the background are the words: OPVS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCC.LVI. Two pilasters have each three saints. In the predella are the Resurrection, and SS. Thomas, Lawrence, Sebastian, and Bernard. According to MARIOTTI (*Lettere pit.*, u.s., pp. 66-7) the picture was painted for Benedetto Guidalotti, founder of the Collegio Gerolimiano at Perugia.

*⁵ Before returning to Florence we find him again in Rome, in 1458 (see MÜNTZ, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, etc., i., p. 263). To this second sojourn in Rome we owe the decoration of the Cesarini chapel in Araceli, and the fresco of the tabernacle in Via Tribuna de' Campitelli (see A. ROSSI in *Arte*, 1902, p. 252), which was lately detached from the wall, and is now in the church of St. Angelo in Pescevia.

*⁶ Benozzo's name is registered in the guild of Florentine painters, but the pub-



THE JOURNEY OF THE MAGI

By BENOZZO GOZZOLI

From a fresco in the Riccardi Palace, Florence

IV.—To face page 348

In considering the causes which might induce Benozzo to face the competition of the metropolis at this time, the conclusion is almost inevitable that a paucity of artists had become perceptible there after 1457. Andrea del Castagno and Pesellino had been carried off, Domenico Veneziano was on the verge of his career, and Fra Filippo had retired to Prato. The Medici must have been at a loss for hands to adorn their Florentine palace, and glad to find a man of skill and fancy like Fra Giovanni's pupil to decorate the walls of the chapel now known as that of the Palazzo Riccardi. Three characteristic letters addressed to Piero de' Medici by Benozzo prove that he had already made some progress in these frescoes in 1459, and the work was approaching completion towards the close of the year.¹ Instead of choosing a series of scenes from the legend of a patron saint, the artist was induced to select the journey of the Magi to Bethlehem as a fitting subject, and, in imitation of those who had already given to the incidents of that journey an increased value of detail on the panels of family chests, he shaped the various episodes of a pompous progress into one long series, filling the walls of the building. The kings, in gorgeous state, are accompanied on their march by knights and pages in sumptuous dresses, by hunters, and followers of all kinds, and we glance by turns at the forms of crowned kings, of squires, and attendants with hunting leopards, all winding their solemn way through a rich landscape country.

Benozzo thus already divested himself of the purely religious character which impressed his earlier pieces, and resolutely emulated the realists in their habit of making Scripture incidents a vehicle for the reproduction of luxurious dress, animal life, and landscape.² In this new phase of his art he was not unsuccessful.

lished date 1423 is clearly an error, as he was not born till after that year. GUALANDI, *u.s.*, ser. vi., p. 178.

¹ See the letters in GAYE, *Carteggio*, i., pp. 191 and following.

* ² Many of the figures in this splendid company are portraits, and several of these portraits have been identified. The artist, of course, has as one of his main objects the glorification of the Medici, his patrons, and we find here portraits of Lorenzo, Piero, Giovanni, and perhaps Giuliano de' Medici. There are also represented John Palaeologus and the patriarch Joseph in commemoration of the pageant connected with the Council of 1439. Here also is Sigismondo Malatesta, and perhaps Galeazzo Maria Sforza, in commemoration of the visit to Florence of

His work has a pleasant spirit and animation in it, and the style which he assumes so quickly and with such good results almost resembles that which on a smaller scale attracts us in the painted chests at the Torrigiani Gallery.¹ Yet on close comparison the wall-paintings of the Riccardi chapel, although carefully executed, are not drawn with the consciousness of a perfect mastery over form. The old defects of Benozzo in rendering extremities or articulations are conspicuous as before, and the journey to Bethlehem is effective not as the inspiration of an original genius, but as the facile reproduction on a large scale of a style imitated from the works of others. We are thus enabled to gauge the true value of Benozzo in the two manners which he had successively adopted at Montefalco and Florence, and to place him on the level to which he is called by the peculiarity of his artistic development.²

The sanctuary or tribune of the chapel is filled with choirs of angels in various attitudes in a landscape, some in flight, some kneeling, others plucking flowers; and the idea of an Eden of which the heavenly host are gardeners is rendered with some poetry of thought.³ The picture formerly on the altar is lost,⁴ and the only part of one preserved in Florence is a predella in the Uffizi,⁵ but we are enabled to judge of Benozzo's talent in panel pictures at this time by the valuable one at the National

Pius II. in 1459. See v. MENGIN in *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1909, pp. 367-84.

¹ These pieces of "Cassoni," indeed, look at first sight as if they might be by Benozzo, but they are too well drawn and in too good a style for him. See *antea*, the Peselli. [* These panels are now in Lady Wantage's collection at Lockinge House.]

² One may praise in this decoration of the Riccardi palace the harmony of the painting with the splendid carved and gilt ceiling.

³ This part, however, is the most damaged and restored in the building.

⁴ It has been said that the altarpiece is in the Munich Gallery. This is not so. See SCHORN's *Vasari* (ii., 2, p. 67). It may, however, be in the private collection of the King of Bavaria.

* As we have already seen (see *antea*, p. 149), it is in the Berlin Gallery. The altar-piece is a Nativity by Fra Filippo.

⁵ This predella, formerly in S. Croce, is No. 1,302 at the Uffizi (wood, small), and represents the Resurrection, i.e. Christ between St. John and the Magdalen, the marriage of St. Catherine, and St. Anthony and a Benedictine. [* The first subject is not the Resurrection, but a Pietà.]

Gallery originally painted for the compagnia di S. Marco in 1461, and ordered with special directions that the Virgin enthroned should have the form and elements of Angelico's on the high altar of the monastery to which the brotherhood is affiliated.¹

From Florence Benozzo migrated to S. Gimignano in 1463-4, and there completed a series of works under the patronage of Domenico Strambi, better known as Parisinus because of his long stay in the French capital. Above the altar of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Agostino the titular martyr may be seen erect in prayer on a pedestal in a long mantle supported aloft by angels, and sheltering a multitude of people. The Virgin baring her breast, the Saviour showing the lance wound at the sides, implore the mercy of the Eternal, who from above launches thunderbolts, intercepted by the cloak of St. Sebastian. This trivial subject, conceived by Benozzo in the fashion of an earlier fresco at Montefalco, was no doubt intended to realise pictorially the intervention of St. Sebastian to preserve S. Gimignano from the plague in 1464. It was completed in that year, and served as a model for numerous Umbrian painters of a later time.² The crucified Saviour beneath, with four adoring saints and twelve medallions

¹ See the whole record in *Alcuni documenti artistici, u.s.* (Nozze Farinola-Vai.), pp. 12, 13. Benozzo received 300 livres (piccioli) for his pains. The picture is No. 283 in the National Gallery. Wood, tempera, 5 ft. 2 in. high by 5 ft. 7½ in. From the brotherhood of San Marco it came in Richa's time into the Spedale de Milani or Pellegrini at Florence (*Chiese*, v., 335), and thence into the hands of the Rinuccini family. Another panel by the master there representing the rape of Helen (No. 591)—wood, 1 ft. 7½ in. high by 2 ft., once belonging to the Marchese Albergotti of Arezzo and the Lombardi Baldi collection—supposed to be part of a painted chest, has some marks of Benozzo's manner, and, at all events, is clearly by one who issued from the school of Angelico. Some restoring may be noticed.

* Three predella pictures belonging to this altarpiece have been found. One, representing a miracle of St. Dominic, is in the Brera. The other, a Miracle of S. Zenobi, has recently passed from the R. Kann collection to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. (See SCHOTTMÜLLER in *Amliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, July, 1909, pp. 236, 237.) A third panel from this predella is at Windsor Castle.

² On the pedestal of the saint and under his feet are the words: ANNO DOMINI MILESIMO QVATTRIGENTESIMO LXIIII. XXVIII, JVLII EVIT HOC OPVS EXPLETVM, DIEQVE SEQUENTI HOC IN ALTARI EXITIT PRIMIVS CELEBRATVM MCCCCLXIII.

at each side, is the votive gift of Domenico Strambi, who kneels in front.¹

In the course of the same year and part of 1465 the whole choir of the church was decorated with a triple course of scenes from the legend of St. Augustine from the first moment of his entering the grammar school at Tegaste to his burial.²

Most of the subjects, seventeen in number, have been injured, and the intrinsic value of each compartment is unequal. We may note amongst the best that of St. Augustine teaching rhetoric at Rome, with rows of hearers on seats at his sides; one

¹ Inscribed F. D. M. P. OF FRATER DOMINICVS MAGISTER PARISIENSIS.

² The subjects run in courses from the lowest compartment on the left to the lunette on the right side, and embrace the entrance of St. Augustine into the grammar school. On the left St. Augustine is consigned to the master by his father and mother, Patrizio and Monica. To the right a child is on the back of an usher in the act of receiving a flogging on his bare posteriors, whilst the master points to St. Augustine as the model of an industrious pupil. 2. Admission of St. A. to the University of Carthage. Only three or four figures to the right are preserved. 3. Monica praying for her departing son, fresco, part obliterated, part repainted. 4. Passage of St. A. from Africa to Italy, totally repainted. 5. Reception of St. A. on disembarkation. The lower half of the fresco is ruined. 6. St. A. teaching at Rome. This has been well given in the publications of the Arundel Society. 7. Departure of the saint from Rome. In the upper part of the composition two angels bear a scroll with the inscription: ELOQVII SACRI DOCTOR PARISIENSIS ET INGENS CEMIGNANIACI FAMA DECVSQVE SOLI HOC PROPRIO SYMPTV DOMINICVS ILLE SACELLVM INSIGNEM JVSSIT PINGERE BENOTIVM MCCCCLXV. 8. Meeting of St. A. with Ambrose at Milan. In centre foreground a servant takes off the saint's spur, whilst another holds his horse. To the right St. A. meets Ambrose, and between the two episodes St. A. kneels before Theodosius. 9. St. A. hears Ambrose preach. Monica begs Ambrose to convert her son, and conference of St. A. with Ambrose. A great part of the episode of the sermon is gone. 10. St. A. reads St. Paul's epistles. 11. Baptism of St. A. by Ambrose, with the inscription on a vase: ADI PRIMO DAPRILE MILLE CCCCLXIII. partly damaged fresco. 12. St. A. visits the hermits of Monte Pisano, explains the rules of his order to his brethren, sees the vision of Christ in the shore; well preserved. 13. Death of S. Monica. Two monks stand on the foreground, one of them, Strambi, indicated by the inscription, F. D. M. PARIS—a fine composition. A naked child runs away from a dog on the right. Lunettes: 14. St. A. and his congregation; lower angle to the right obliterated. 15. Triumph of St. A. over Fortunatus; much injured. 16. St. A. in ecstasy before St. Jerome. 17. Death of St. A. On the front faces of the pilasters are superposed, right: 1. Tobit and the fish. 2. Angel and Tobit. 3. S. Fina. Left: 1. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. 2. St. Sebastian. 3. S. Monica. Inner sides of pilasters, right: SS. Nicolas of Tolentino, Nicolas of Bari, Elias; left: SS. Bartolus, Gimignano, and John the Baptist, with a small martyrdom of S. Bartolus on a lower frieze. In the entrance vaulting, Christ between the apostles.



ST. AUGUSTINE LEAVING ROME

By BENCOZZO GOZZOLI

From a fresco in the Church of S. Agostino, S. Gimignano

in which the death of S. Monica, the saint's mother, is represented; but the best is that in which the death of Augustine is depicted, where Benozzo fairly arranges a great number of people in a good composition and gives to some of those in the foreground a character at once akin to that of Angelico and of Fra Filippo. It is, indeed, characteristic of the series that something of Lippi's spirit in stature and build of figures may be seen commingled with a touch of Fra Giovanni's religious feeling; yet Benozzo remains naturally inferior to both. It must not be forgotten in the meanwhile that one of the assistants in this undertaking was Giusto d'Andrea, a Florentine, who had by turns served under Neri di Bicci and Fra Filippo,¹ and who relates in a diary of his own that, being in the employment of Benozzo, "who was an excellent master of wall-painting," he painted all the saints at the sides of the window in the choir of S. Agostino and the four apostles on the vaulting of the entrance.² The obliteration of the former deprives us of means for judging Giusto's value as an artist, but the lowest medallions of apostles in the vaulting of the entrance are so much below the usual mark of Benozzo that they are doubtless those to which the diary alludes; and the same manner is apparent in two angels holding a scroll in the fresco of Augustine's departure from Rome.³ Giusto remained three years with Benozzo,⁴ and no doubt had his share in the work at the altar of St. Sebastian.

After completing for Domenico Strambi the wall-paintings of S. Agostino, Benozzo began those between the portals in the

¹ See *Neri di Bicci's Journal*, u.s., Com. to VASARI, ii., p. 87. He served under Neri in 1458-9, and with Fra Filippo in 1460.

² See the journal in GAYE, *Curiosities*, i., pp. 212, 213.

³ In these two angels note the coarseness of the figure, the round and vulgar heads, the strong outlines and broken folds of drapery which seem a caricature of Fra Filippo.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *ibid.* An example of the mixture of styles to which a painter might be liable after wandering from the school of Neri di Bicci into that of Fra Filippo and others may be seen in a so-called Fra Filippo at the Esterhazy Gallery in Vienna [* now No. 45 in the Budapest Gallery], in which the life-size Virgin and Child are enthroned between SS. Anthony the abbot and Lawrence. At foot is the half-figure of a monk in prayer. The hand is clearly that of an inferior artist who had been in Fra Filippo's atelier, and carried off from thence the types and character which he imitates in a feeble manner. The picture besides is injured by varnishes.

Pieve of S. Gimignano, representing there the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian and various episodes and figures,¹ inferior in style and execution to anything that he had as yet done in the place. With equal rudeness and haste Benozzo seems to have laid in, with much help from the feeble hand of Giusto, the crucified Saviour and saints, a fresco in the court of the convent of Monte Oliveto outside S. Gimignano.² He devoted more conscientious labour in 1466 to two Madonnas amongst saints and a Marriage of St. Catherine painted severally for S. M. Maddalena and S. Andrea of S. Gimignano and S. Francesco of Terni, all of which bear his signature, and are of the best that he finished in these years.³

Not confining himself, however, to the immediate neighbourhood of S. Gimignano he undertook and carried out the adornment of the chapel of the Giustiziati, at the foot of the Ponte dell' Agliena in the outskirts of Certaldo, a small edifice enclosing a tabernacle with a Deposition from the Cross inside, the Cruci-

¹ The saint is colossal and stands on a pedestal surrounded with figures shooting arrows, whilst two angels hold a crown above his head. Above, Christ and the Virgin (half-lengths) are in a glory of seraphim and cherubim. Beneath are the crucified Saviour and saints, with figures also of saints in the painted borders. On the pilaster to the left of these frescoes are: front, SS. Bernard and Augustine; side, St. Anthony. On the opposite pilaster, in the same relative situations, SS. Bernardino and Jerome and the Virgin. There is also a saint on the pilaster face, by the portal, to the spectator's left of the martyrdom.

² The Saviour, four angels about the horizontal limb, the Virgin and Evangelist erect at the sides, St. Jerome penitent on his knees at foot, all life-size. The Redeemer is a caricature of Benozzo's at Montefalco.

³ Madonna of S. M. Maddalena, now in the choir of the Pieve. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned between the kneeling SS. M. Magdalen, John the Baptist (left), Martha and Augustine (right), inscribed: OPVS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCLXVI. Madonna of S. Andrea three miles outside S. Gimignano: Virgin and Child enthroned with angels holding baskets of flowers between the kneeling SS. Andrew and Prospero, inscribed: OPVS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA, DIE XXVIII. AVGUSTI MCCCCLXVI., and lower down: HOC OPVS FECIT FIERI VENERABILIS SACERDOS DÑS HIERONIMVS NICOLAI DE SCO GEM. . . . RECF. DICTE ECCLESIE. In the predella is the resurrection between SS. Jerome and Guglielmus. At Terni, S. Francesco chapel of the Rustici family, the Marriage of St. Catherine, two angels supporting a dais of tapestry. At the sides of the principal group are (left) SS. Bartholomew and Lucy kneeling, (right) St. Francis. Above, the Eternal and three angels, inscribed: OPVS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCLXVI. [* This picture is now in the Biblioteca Comunale at Terni.]

fixion and Martyrdom of St. Sebastian outside,¹ and other incidents and figures, a damaged decoration in which Giusto d'Andrea had a share. Nor is it improbable that he entrusted to the same assistant most of the paintings in a tabernacle at S. Chiara of Castel Fiorentino, where a Virgin and Child with saints and incidents from the life of Mary form a compact but much injured series.²

Benozzo, who in 1465 had caused himself to be registered in the guild of *Speziali* at Florence, remained in S. Gimignano till 1467. At the latter date he restored Lippo Memmi's frescoes in the Palazzo del Podestà, and his presence there till at least the summer of that year is proved by a curious letter which he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici begging him to assist Giovanni di Mugello, a brother of Giusto, who had been accused of stealing some sheets from the cells of the monks in a monastery at Certaldo.³

By far the greatest and most important labours of Benozzo were those which he now undertook at Pisa, where as early as January, 1469 (*Pis. St.*), he had already completed the fresco of Noah and his family,⁴ an engraving of which accompanies these

¹ The deposition contains eleven figures. Sides of tabernacle, SS. Anthony Abbot, James the Elder (right), John the Baptist, and another (left). Vaulting, the Eternal and four Evangelists. Face of arch, the Annunciation. The annotators of VASARI, iii., pp. 54, 55, after quoting a passage of Giusto d'Andrea's diary in which he says he painted with Benozzo at the Tabernacle de' Giustiziati, adds that the work here alluded to is a *Pietà* in the Pretorio of Certaldo, Stanza del Giudizio Criminale (noticed in these pages as a work in the style of Pietro di Francesco, see *antea*). But this must be an error. The tabernacle above described is a public foundation bearing the arms of the Florentine Republic and to this day called Cappella de' Giustiziati.

² The Virgin and Child are between St. Paul and other saints, part standing, part kneeling. The lower half of the fresco is gone. In the vaulting are the Evangelists and Doctors of the Church. The compositions are Benozzo's. But on one of the pilasters is a figure of a monk, with a heart in his hand, quite in the manner of Neri di Bicci. A saint on the opposite pilaster has the same character. Both are painted in strongly marked and contrasted colour. These features would clearly prove the presence of Giusto in a work the ensemble of which is that of a feeble Benozzo.

³ GAYE, *u. s.*, i., p. 209.

⁴ *Ciampi, Notiz. Ined.*, *u. s.*, p. 153. The commission was given in May, 1469 (*Pis. St.*) He therefore took nine months to paint his first fresco. See FÖRSTER, *Beiträge*, *u. s.*, p. 131.

pages.¹ Following this successful effort he continues the series with two subjects, forming the lower course of those by Pietro di Puccio west of the Ammanati chapel, representing the Curse of Ham, and the Building of the Tower of Babel. It is characteristic of Benozzo's temper that his earliest fresco in the Campo Santo is also his most pleasing composition, the most striking for the richness of its episodes, architecture, and landscape. He drew it more carefully and gracefully than usual. Yet a severe criticism may still reprove defective proportions in the articulations, extremities, and total conformation of the frames, a wooden stiffness in the mode of presenting them circumscribed by an endless and mechanical line. It was very natural that being thus cold and lifeless in action, he should fail altogether in expression ; and it is equally apparent that, whilst in muscular forms his conventional art does not suffice to infuse life into a laboured anatomy, in the play of features it cannot suggest any one of the passions. Being endowed with certain sinuous qualities, and having had occasion to contemplate many masterpieces in his life, but being unable to fathom all the sources and mysteries of the art of his contemporaries, Benozzo tried to imitate results, and thought it enough if he approximately succeeded. Nothing that he does is founded on any principle more profound than that of superficial imitation. He foreshortens a figure without inquiry into the laws of perspective, and copies with a certain speed and ease a petrified model. The same absence of scientific principles marks his architecture, which is surcharged with planes and ornament, and imperfect like that of Masolino and Angelico, without their excuse for imperfection. Whilst Benozzo thus proves himself devoid of original talent in some important branches, he is not much more successful as a colourist. His tones are somewhat entire and frequently inharmonious. His technical method on wall as on panel is simple. In flesh he paints his shadows grey with a warm general liquid tint for

¹ The whole figure of Noah lying on the right foreground is new, as well as all the lower part of the group about him. Other parts here and there are scaled. A long perpendicular flaw, in the centre of the fresco near Noah drinking, cuts away part of a female near him. On the collar of the figure pointing with both hands to the prostrate patriarch are the words : . . . VS BENOTII DE FLORENTIA MCCCCL. . . .

light ; and he stipples the whole together with red. In draperies he places the lights and shadows with a copious and high surface over a general local colour. By thus using the method of tempera panel-painting on the wall he carries out a perishable system the disadvantage of which is apparent in the present state of the Campo Santo pictures where vast quantities of colour have scaled off even in flesh parts, and the stippling has frequently become black.

In the midst of all these shortcomings, however, Benozzo has moments of luck, and in the twenty-one frescoes of Pisa there are occasional pretty episodes and fair bits of composition. The comparative inferiority of other parts may be due to assistants ; and whereas, in Montefalco, we trace the hand of Pietro Antonio, and in S. Gimignano that of Giusto d'Andrea, that of Zanobi Macchiavelli¹ is apparent in the Campo Santo.²

In the Curse of Ham, the group of Noah pouring out his malediction on the left is all but gone, but in the attendant peaceful episodes which form the rest of the picture, there are pleasing groups of a girl leading a child and carrying a pitcher on her head—of a mother in profile with a child in her arms ; yet the feeling is marred by neglect of the more minute parts.³

The building of the tower of Babel is supposed to take place before a great number of spectators. To the left stands Nimrod and many persons of high station, amongst whom we recognise, side by side, Cosimo de' Medici, Piero "il Gottoso," Lorenzino, an adolescent, and Politian. In the air the Eternal appears, commanding the confusion of tongues.

Above the Cappella Ammanati and facing one of the gates of the

*¹ In the Pisan documents, which give a complete history of Benozzo's works, the name of Zanobio Macchiavelli occurs only once, prior to 1475 ; and this documentary notice refers to another work than that of the Campo Santo. Without doubt Benozzo had many assistants in his colossal task at the Campo Santo ; but we can only repeat the names of his assistants as given in the documents. To attempt to distinguish the portions of the work that each did is an impossible task. Baccio, Domenico di Lasso, Giovanni and Bartolomeo di Giovanni were some of his assistants. We know also that Bernardo, Benozzo's brother, was summoned to Pisa in 1479. See I. B. SUPINO, "Le opere minori di B. Gozzoli a Pisa," in the *Archivio stor. dell' Arte*, 1894, p. 234.

² For instance, in the fresco of Abraham and Lot in Egypt, where two combatants grasp each other by the hair.

³ The blue of the sky is all repainted.

Campo Santo is the Adoration of the Magi, a fresco of more than usual breadth, with a portrait of Benozzo on horseback at the very tail of the suite on the left of the picture.¹ Beneath this is the Annunciation, with two angels below it, pointing to the mystery.

Following the wall to the eastward the double course includes :

No. 5. Abraham and the Worship of Baal (upper course not so damaged as others). 6. Abraham and Lot in Egypt (lower course), with good episodes and fair studies of horses in the cavalcades. 7. Abraham's Victory (upper course), where there are two fine figures of men fighting on horseback and many fallen ones foreshortened with little art.² 8. (Lower course) Abraham and Hagar. Much injured. The angel appearing to Hagar is reminiscent of Angelico, which cannot be said of those appearing to Abraham, whose heads, however, are gone. The face of the patriarch is very fine, whilst nothing more vulgar can be conceived than the grimacing agony of Hagar in the scene which shows her quarrel with Sara. 9. The Destruction of Sodom and Escape of Lot (upper course). Some of the contradictions in Benozzo are very apparent here. A confused group of naked figures on the left is striking for its lame action and the wooden nature of the forms, whereas the angels and celestial soldiers, casting thunderbolts, are much more animated and vigorous. One angel, indeed, with his two arms raised in the act of throwing the fire, is very energetic, and seems a type bequeathed to Benozzo by Angelico. Lot's wife, turned to a pillar of salt on the right, imitates the form of a classic statue. The rest of the group is good; but the expression and action of Lot are vulgar and exaggerated.³ 10. The Sacrifice of Isaac—rudely executed (lower course). 11. The Marriage of Rebecca (upper course). This is one of the best ordered compositions of the series. The group at the well is attractive; but there is something colossal in a few of the figures. The distant episodes are as usual the best. 12. (Lower course) the Birth of Jacob and Esau, almost obliterated. One of the incidents on the left foreground offers an useless luxury and surcharge of architecture and figures. 13. The Marriage of Jacob and Rachel and Jacob's Dream (upper course). The angels in the dream are pleasing, and the dancers and spectators form pretty groups. 14. Meeting of Jacob and Esau, and Rape of Dinah (lower course). This piece is remarkable for the richness of its landscape still life, but also for its beautiful group of Jacob and Rachel

¹ He wears a blue dress and a cap, and looks at the Virgin on the right, whose blue dress is new, whilst her head, neck, and breast are gone.

² The fresco is not seriously injured.

³ The fresco is fairly preserved.



NOAH'S DRUNKENNESS

By BESOZZO GOZZOLI

From a fresco in the Camposanto, Pisa

with the youthful Benjamin, of which, however, a part (the top of the heads) is gone. A portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici amongst the sons of Jacob and the Schemites has almost faded away. 15. The Innocence of Joseph (upper course). The groups of this compartment are truly described by Rosini as huddled together. One of them is good, which shows Jacob recognising the clothes of Joseph. 16. (Lower course) Joseph made known to his Brothers, The foreground parts are almost completely new, but an adventitious interest accrues to the piece from the inscription on a scroll held aloft by two angels eulogising the talents of the painter. It is this inscription, placed in the fresco just above the funeral vault and stone given to Benozzo by the Pisans in 1478, which is alluded to by Vasari when he says that it was placed in the middle, i.e. the centre, of the work which he had completed.¹

The rest of the series, of which two (the Destruction of Dathan and Abiram and the Death of Aaron) are obliterated, is devoted to the life and works of Moses. 17. His Infancy and first Miracle.² 18. The Passage of the Red Sea.³ 19. The Tables of the Law.⁴ 20. Aaron's Rod.⁵ 21. The Fall of Jericho, and David and Goliath.⁶ Of great variety in the episodes, but composed of figures in extravagant proportion and movement. 22. The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, almost obliterated, but preserving the upper portion of a large number of people, male, female, and children, to the right. Of this rich composition, an old drawing, a copy from the fresco, not an original design for it, is in the Academy of Pisa. In the lower part of the right-hand group at the Campo Santo, the intonaco has fallen away and left the original red drawing on the rough cast. It is curious to remark that, whereas most of the figures find a natural completion in the drawing on the rough cast, that of a child whose head alone appears in the finished part does not extend to the under plaster. The whole of this child is in the drawing at the Academy, and proves it to be a copy from, not the sketch for, the fresco.⁷ A number of designs for this series by Benozzo were some

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 49. The inscription is correctly given in the Aretine biography.

² Not free from retouching.

³ All the lower part is gone, and the original drawing in red is still left on the first intonaco.

⁴ This fresco shows some resemblance to Cosimo Rosselli's paintings in the Sistine chapel, though it is in bad condition and many parts all but gone.

⁵ Much injured and again reminiscent of Rosselli.

⁶ In great part gone, and the centre very dusty.

⁷ The drawing might be that from which the design on the rough cast was corrected; but on artistic grounds this seems unlikely.

years since, and may still now be, in possession of Don José Madrazo at Madrid, who bought them at Pisa; but they were all retouched.

The whole of this mighty collection of frescoes was completed by Benozzo in sixteen years;¹ and the payment for the last subject, representing the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was made on the 11th of May, 1485.² Five years previous to that time Benozzo wrote out the income paper now in the archives of Florence,³ in which he states that, besides property in land and houses at Florence, he owns a house in via S. Maria at Pisa, in which he resides with his brother Domenico and their joint families. His indefatigable industry may be conceived from the number of extant pictures dating from the period of his stay in Pisa; a list of which would comprise the glory of St. Thomas Aquinas, painted for the Duomo of Pisa and now in the Louvre,⁴ a Conception, once in S. Marta,⁵ now in the Academy of Pisa,⁶ a Virgin and Child among saints in the same gallery, originally in S. Benedetto a Ripa d'Arno,⁷ and a Virgin and Child between two angels in the "Coretto" of the Monastery of S. Anna at Pisa.⁸ These pieces might be supposed to issue from the shop,

*¹ The work on the frescoes was only interrupted for a short time in 1480 when the plague visited the city. Benozzo took refuge at Legoli, where he executed the large tabernacle of which the authors speak below.

² FÖRSTER, *Beiträge*, u.s., p. 131.

³ GAYE, u.s., i., p. 271.

⁴ Louvre. No. 1,319. Wood, m. 2.27 h. by 1.02. The picture is reminiscent of the St. Thomas by Traini, has reddish flesh tints, and dresses in changing hues; it reveals the style common in the Campo Santo frescoes. It is much injured by restoring (VASARI, iii., p. 50).

*⁵ According to an old inventory of the Academy, this picture came from the convent of S. Domenico.

⁶ Three miniature figures kneel at the sides of the principal group, which as usual represents the Virgin on the lap of S. Anna, the latter giving a flower to the infant Christ. The triangular cusp is filled by a figure of the Eternal. The infant's type is reminiscent of that of Fra Filippo. The picture is pleasing, but injured in the draperies, chiefly by old varnishes (VASARI, Annot., iii., p. 50).

⁷ Virgin and Child between SS. Benedict, Scholastica (left), Ursula and Giov. Gualb. (right). The infant holds a bird, two angels a crown over the Virgin's head. A vertical split runs down the centre of the latter. This is a defective picture, but undoubtedly by Benozzo.

⁸ The Virgin takes flowers from a vase. [* This picture also is now at the Academy, but is not by Benozzo, but by Domenico di Bartolo.]

and therefore not to have employed more than the painter's leisure hours;¹ but he had also the habit of accepting commissions at a distance, as is proved by the frescoes of the tabernacle on the road to Meleto, two and a half miles from Castel Fiorentino,² where the Virgin with the Child attended by saints is depicted above an altar, her death on the left side, her burial, ascension, and gift of the girdle on the right; and the whole work is signed with Benozzo's name and dated 1484.³ The execution is rude enough, but not so feeble as that of a series in bad condition in a chapel at Legoli, between Pontedera and Volterra, apparently painted by some one attached to Benozzo's school.⁴

The erection of a tomb for Benozzo in the Campo Santo by the Pisans, and the inscription on that monument gave an appearance of truth to the statement that the painter's death occurred in 1478, but Ciampi's records satisfactorily proved that he was

*¹ Other works of Benozzo and his school are to be noted in Pisa. The polyptych that he painted for S. Maria della Spina is lost; but in the convent of San Domenico, over the first altar to the left, another Crucifixion is preserved, in which the Crucified is surrounded by forty martyrs and is worshipped by the donor. This picture, though not by any means entirely from the master's own hand, is in part his work. In the refectory of the same convent, above a door, is a St. Dominic, and a large Crucifixion, very much injured, is on a wall in the same room (see SUPINO, *art. cit.*, p. 241 *et seq.*). It is probable that the Madonna and Child of the Cologne Gallery (No. 520) was also painted in Pisa.

*² This is the oratorio that bears the name of Madonna delle Tosse. Another small building, the Madonna della Visitazione, near to Castel Fiorentino, contains a series of frescoes by Benozzo, but much more damaged than those of the Madonna delle Tosse. Amongst the best preserved of the frescoes are those representing Joachim chased from the Temple and the fresco of Joachim among the Shepherds and the Meeting of Joachim and Anna. See G. TOSI in *Miscellanea Storica di Val d'Elsa*, anno. vi., fasc. 3, No. 17, and R. H. CUST in *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1905, pp. 149-52.

*³ The date is clear from the inscription on the front of the tabernacle: HOC TABERNACULUM FECIT FIERI DNS. GRATIA PRIOR CASTRI NOVI AD HONOREM SCE MARIE VIRGINIS, DIE XXIII DECEMBRIS MCCCCLXXXIII; the authorship from the following on the wall on which the altar rests: MA . . . F. M. BENO . . . FLORENTINVS DEPI. . . The saints at the Virgin's side are Catherine, Peter, Margaret, and Paul, the scene opening out from beneath two curtains, each of which is held back by an angel. In the picture of the Virgin's death one of the kneeling figures in front is probably the patron.

*⁴ The chapel is that of Monsignor della Fanteria and represents Christ crucified, a Virgin and Child, and saints, and the Annunciation.

living in 1485.¹ A still later record recently discovered convincingly shows that Benozzo was still alive at Florence in 1496, having in January of that year been chosen by Alesso Baldovineti to value his frescoes in the Gianfigliuzzi chapel at S. Trinità of Florence.² Vasari's catalogue of works by Benozzo contains as usual a few that have not been preserved to our day.³

Having devoted a few remarks in the course of the foregoing narrative to the career of Giusto d'Andrea, and alluded cursorily to the presence of Macchiavelli, another of Gozzoli's assistants at the Campo Santo, we may be interested by some details respecting works in which the style of Benozzo, commingled in some particulars with that of Fra Filippo, is imitated by inferior men.

PISA. Residence of the Capellani del Duomo, in S. Lazzaro fuori Porta S. Luca at Pisa.⁴ Virgin and Child between SS. Lazarus, Lawrence, Anthony abbot and Bernardino, a kneeling male and female in front, originally inscribed: GIANPIERO DA PORTO VENERE E MONA MICHELA DELLA SPETIE FECIONO FARE QUESTA TAVOLA MCCOCLXX. In a predella is the Resurrection between SS. Peter and Stephen.⁵ This much-injured picture, assigned to Benozzo, is a rude production by a third-rate follower of the master during his residence at Pisa; by a man, however, who is acquainted with other styles besides the dominant one of Gozzoli.

S. Gimignano Gallery. In Pretorio of Duomo (No. 12); originally in S. Michele of Casale—Virgin and Child between four saints, feeble,

¹ *Notiz. Ined. u.s.*, pp. 153-5. [* There are other notices of Benozzo posterior to 1478. Supino quotes documentary references of the years 1482, 1489, and 1495. In 1495 he was again in Pisa. See SUPINO, *art. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.]

² *Alcuni documenti non mai stampati. Nozze Farinola Vai, u.s.*, p. 18.

* Benozzo died at Pistoia on October 4, 1497. See CHIAPPELLI, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1904, tom. xxxiv., series v., p. 150. The artist probably died of the plague.

³ The list comprises a transit of St. Jerome in S. Friano (VASARI, iii., p. 46), a Virgin and saints in the Torre de' Conti, and frescoes in S. M. Maggiore at Rome (*ibid.*, p. 48), two altarpieces in S. Caterina, one in S. Niccolo, and two in S. Croce of Pisa (*ibid.*, p. 50), one in the Duomo of Volterra (*ibid.*, p. 51). An Annunciation No. 1,165^a in the Berlin Museum, formerly assigned to Benozzo, is a poor but old copy from the same subject by Fra Filippo.

* ⁴ Now in the Museo Civico.

* ⁵ St. John the Evangelist and St. Stephen are on the right, the Virgin and St. Peter on the left.

lean, and grotesque in character, flatly coloured in rosy tones, assigned to Gozzoli, but showing some reminiscence of Fra Filippo in the Child.

VOLTERRA, S. Girolamo (fuor di), Virgin and Child between SS. Anthony of Padua, Lawrence, Cosmo, and Damian, with SS. Francis and Jerome kneeling in front, assigned to Ghirlandaio, drawn with mechanical rudeness and with defects which may be noticed in the works of

PRATO, *Galleria Comunale. No. XII.* Wood, life-size, on gold ground. In the same style as the foregoing with a mixture of Benozzo's and Filippo's manner, a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant, amongst saints. Something in the Virgin and Child also recalls Ghirlandaio, the colour being reddish and leaden, the outlines sharp, the draperies double and of many folds, the figures straight and long, the heads small.

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts. No. XVI.* A Virgin and Child between six saints like the foregoing. From S. Girolamo of Florence.

All these works may be assigned to Giusto d'Andrea, whose characteristic features are more or less those of a better, but still second rate, assistant of Benozzo, Zenobi Macchiavelli.¹

This painter is merely alluded to by Vasari as Gozzoli's pupil,² and has been cursorily mentioned in these pages as an aid in the Campo Santo frescoes. The most favourable aspect under which he presents himself is in a Coronation of the Virgin at the Louvre dated 1473;³ the next best, in a piece at the Academy of Pisa, representing the Virgin, Child, and saints, undated, but signed with his name.⁴ Yet in the latter, which though injured, is what Vasari calls "ragionevole," the long figures are rigid; the open mouths impart a stupid air to the faces, and the drapery is at once broken and involved. The Child is the best part of the picture, which is a caricature of the manner of Fra Filippo

*¹ He was born in 1418, the son of Jacopo di Piero, and died March 7, 1479. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 54.

² VASARI, iii., p. 53.

³ This piece, wood, m. 1·64 inches high by 1·66 inches) No. 245 of the Louvre catalogue, is inscribed OPUS CENIBII DE MACCHIAVELLIS MCCCLXXIII.

* This picture was originally in S. Croce fuor di Pisa.

⁴ Originally in S. Croce fuor di Pisa, it bears the inscription, OPUS ZENOBII DE MACCHIAVELLIS.

rather than that of Benozzo, but still shows a mixture of both.

Better and equally authentic is a Virgin and Child, between SS. Nicholas Louis and Jerome (right), Bernardino and another (left), in the National Gallery of Ireland inscribed *OPVS CENOBII DE MACHIAVELIS*. This is a creation showing how an artist of no high powers can at times approach other masters. It is, like the previous ones, a mixture of the manner of Fra Filippo and Benozzo, that of the Fra being dominant, especially in the form of the Infant. The Virgin's figure is well proportioned and in easy movement, and her face, in its framing of locks, is gentle enough. But the nude of the Child is angular in drawing; there is a want of purpose in the attitude and an absence of fitness in the superabundant broken drapery of the standing saints; the extremities are coarse and large; the flesh careful yet monotonous in tone, and lined with wrinkles.¹

This piece is useful as a guide to test the authorship of a Madonna and Child, enthroned between angels and saints, in the National Gallery.² Though assigned there to Fra Filippo Lippi, it has the mixed character of that master and of Benozzo. The angels in front, though much injured by restoring, are most in the Fra's style, but the draperies are like those of Benozzo, and the saints have the same listless and aimless attitudes, the same coarse extremities as previously described. The reddish prevailing tone is flat and without softness. It may be right in a public gallery not to change the nomenclature of pictures hastily, but this one bears the impress of a single hand, that of a painter who had studied in the school of Fra Filippo and mingled his manner with that peculiar to Benozzo.³

Omitting Pietro Antonio da Foligno whose labours must be

¹ National Gallery of Ireland. No. 108. Wood, tempera, 4 feet 5 inches high by 4 feet 11 inches; belonged in 1859 to Signor Bacci at Florence; was then in the collection of Mr. Uzzelli in London, from whence it was purchased for Dublin in 1861.

² No. 586. Wood (see *antea* in Lippi), centre, 5 feet 4 inches high by 2 feet 4 inches; sides, 4 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 10½ inches, from Montepulciano and the Lombardi-Baldi collection.

³ It is now rightly given to Macchiavelli. To these works of Macchiavelli we may add a St. James, signed and dated 1463, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 94A.

classed amongst those of the Umbrian school influenced by Benozzo, we may conclude this chapter with a few words on Domenico di Michelino, and others of still less note.

Domenico di Michelino is named by Vasari amongst the pupils of Angelico.¹ We have seen him paint a portrait of Dante in S. M. del Fiore on a design given by Baldovinetti. This figure was long assigned to Orcagna, and represents the poet, of life-size, holding in his hand the *Divina Commedia* which emits rays illuminating the city and fortifications of Florence. Dante is dressed in a red cap and tunic, and crowned with laurel. In the distance to the left are the condemned, a hill, and figures of Adam and Eve. The style is that of the fifteenth century, like a continuation of that of Masolino, and thus justifies Vasari's assertion as to Domenico's education. The painting is careful, the drawing precise, and the colour warmly flat.

Another painter whose style approaches to that of Michelino is Piero Chelini, whose injured frescoes from the legend of Peter Martyr on the front of the Bigallo at Florence are proved by Rumohr to have been completed in 1444.² To this class of paintings may be added :

FLORENCE, S. *Croce*, *Cappella Medici*, a life size bishop whose dress is supported by two angels, carefully drawn and flatly coloured.

FLORENCE, *same place*. S. Bernardo in glory supported by two angels, with a miniature patron offering a cup, and a smaller figure kneeling ; dated MCCCCXXXIII.

FLORENCE, *Academy of Arts*, No. 16. The three angels and Tobias :

Finally Zanobi Strozzi is to be mentioned as a miniaturist who may have been Angelico's assistant, for notices of whom the reader must be referred to Vasari³ and Baldinucci.⁴

¹ VASARI, iii., p. 522. [* Born in 1417, Domenico died on April 18, 1491. We know that in 1450 he painted a *gonfalone* for Cortona, and in 1463 an *arnadito* for the Company of S. Zenobi in Florence. See MILANESI in VASARI, ii., p. 522.]

² RUMOHR, *Forschungen*, ii., pp. 169, 170.

* Piero Chelini, or di Chelino, is mentioned in documents of the years 1435 to 1444 as a painter in the employ of the Capitani della Compagnia del Bigallo. But he was not the author of the frescoes of the life of St. Peter Martyr, which were painted by Ventura di Moro and Rossello di Jacopo (see the *Rivista d'Arte*, 1904, p. 203 and pp. 240-2).

³ VASARI, ii., pp. 60, 73, 520, 521, 528.

⁴ BALDINUCCI, *Opere*, v., pp. 341, 342. He was born in 1412, and known to be alive in 1463. (* See P. D'ANCONA, in *Arte*, 1908, fasc. vi.) As regards a portrait of Giovanui di Bicci de' Medici, repainted by him, and now

Passing from the comparatively obscure companions of Benozzo Gozzoli, and reverting to his contemporaries, the last of the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century who claims present attention is Cosimo di Lorenzo Filippi Rosselli, commonly known as Cosimo Rosselli, the direct descendant of a family devoted to painting and sculpture for at least a century and a half previous. Looking back at the ascending line of Rosselli we find three great-uncles and some of their sons following the paternal profession of art, the father Lorenzo a master mason, the cousins all painters, the brother a miniaturist, and a niece married to Simone Pollaiuolo, better known as Cronaca.¹

Cosimo was born in the Via del Cocomero at Florence in 1439,² and belongs to the same artistic class as Benozzo di Lese. He had the misfortune to become in 1452 or 1453 assistant to Neri di Bicci, a master who was ill calculated to prepare him for a brilliant future. He left Neri in October, 1456,³ about the time of Gozzoli's arrival in Florence; and presumptive evidence may be adduced to prove that some sort of connection was formed between the two. Their styles were not unlike, and it seems as if they might have had a common atelier. Looking at the Last Judgment of 1456 assigned to Angelico and Rosselli in the Berlin Museum,⁴ and bearing in mind that the style evolved in it is that of a weak pupil of Angelico, the conclusion might be, supposing the names to be correct, that Cosimo, whose later works are reminiscent of those of Benozzo, was first known as a feeble imitator of Fra Giovanni.

Several pictures noticed by Vasari still exist in Florence: An Ascension of the Virgin, on the third altar to the left of the entrance to S. Ambrogio one of Cosimo's latest works,⁵ an

in the Uffizi (No. 43) at Florence, it is a much damaged and repainted work of a second-rate character. [* He died December 6, 1468, and was buried in S. Maria Novella.]

* ¹ See the genealogical tree in VASARI, iii., pp. 192, 193.

² See income papers of 1457 and 1469 in GAYE *u.s.*, note to p. 458, ii.

³ See *Records of Neri, u.s.*, in VASARI, ii., p. 87.

⁴ No. 57. See *antea*, note p. 94.

⁵ The Virgin is surrounded by five seraphs, and welcomed by four angels offering her lilies, the Eternal appearing above. Below are St. Ambrose and St. Francis in a landscape, and in a predella three scenes from the life of St. Francis (VASARI,

Apotheosis of S. Barbara originally at the Servi, now in the Academy;¹ a Coronation of the Virgin, in the church of Cestello, or S. M. de' Pazzi,² and a Virgin giving the breast to the Infant amongst saints in the sacristy of the same church.³

The first of these is a poor example, dull in tone and weak in the figures; the second is comparatively of greater value, and the two others are amongst his best. Throughout the whole of these pieces the figures are lame and without grace, the draperies straight or broken into rectangles, the colour a mixture of tempera and oil, raw, low in tone and opaque.⁴

Rosselli seems to have spent some of his years in Lucca, where a fresco of Christ Taken down from the Cross, inside and above the portal of S. Martino, reveals, in spite of its bad condition, his style and defects.⁵ His influence in that city may be traced in pictures falsely assigned to Zacchia, such as a Virgin and Child surrounded by saints, on the altar della Consolazione in S. Agostino,⁶ and others too numerous to mention.

He gained some sort of name in competition with the great

iii., p. 184). The picture as we learn from the contract with which we have been favoured by Signor Gaetano Milanese, was ordered on the 3rd of November, 1498. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 184.

¹ No. 52. S. Barbara is erect between SS. John the Baptist, St. Mathias, life-size figures with the inscription BARBARA DIVA TIBI TABVLAM SANCTISSIMA CETERVS THEVTONICVS POSVIT QUI TVA FESTA COLIT. (VASARI, iii., p. 184).

² This Coronation has been erroneously assigned to Angelico (RICHA, *u.s.*, i., p. 322; see also VASARI, iii., p. 185).

* This picture was probably painted in the year 1505 or soon after. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 185.

³ The Virgin is enthroned on a flowery meadow and pats the head of the infant Baptist. St. James and St. Peter are at her sides, and two angels suspend a crown above her head (VASARI, iii., p. 185). [* This picture is now in the Uffizi (No. 1,280 bis). It was executed for the Salviati in 1492. See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 185.]

⁴ We may not forget here that the Annunciation, two prophets and the Eternal, pinnacles of an Adoration of the Magi by Lorenzo Monaco, in the Uffizi (No. 39), have already been mentioned in connection with the name of Rosselli.

*⁵ By Cosimo too, in all probability, are the frescoes recently discovered in S. Francesco at Lucca, a Nativity, an Annunciation, a Presentation, and a Marriage of the Virgin—somewhat feeble works, which are given by others to Benozzo. See *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 75.

⁶ The Virgin and Child are between SS. Augustine and Monica, Nicholas and Jerome.

artists of the Sistine chapel at Rome, but there is no doubt that he showed himself greatly inferior to his rivals; and Vasari is covertly ironical when he attributes excess of gilding and poorly wrought figures in Rosselli's frescoes to the influence of Sixtus the Fourth.

The chief defects to be found in the Moses Delivering the Tables at the Sistine are disproportion, wiry contour, and exaggerated movement in figures.¹ The hands and feet are out of drawing, the draperies meaningless, the flesh is of a red tinge, and darkly shaded to the outline. There is much here to confirm the belief that he laboured for a time as Benozzo's journeyman, and much to make us believe that he did so during Gozzoli's employment in the Campo Santo at Pisa.² In the passage of the Red Sea, which is the second number of the Sistine series by Rosselli, the painter's more obvious faults are condoned to a certain extent by action and variety of incident.

The best composition is the Sermon on the Mount, where there is more regularity in the distribution of groups; and types of either sex are casually better than before.³ The Last Supper is the worst fresco in the chapel.

Cosimo probably inhabited Rome between 1480 and 1484;⁴ and there is reason to believe that the paintings of the Sistine date after that of the Beato Filippo receiving the dress of the Servites from the Virgin, which is still visible in the court of the SS. Annunziata at Florence; and Richa authorises us to believe that Cosimo completed this defective piece in 1476.⁵

His best fresco completed in 1486 is in the chapel of the

*¹ In all the four frescoes of Cosimo he was helped by assistants. The co-operation of Piero di Cosimo is most obvious in the Passage of the Red Sea.

*² It is now known that Rosselli was summoned to Pisa to paint frescoes in 1466. This tends to confirm the author's hypothesis. See SUPINO in *Arch. Stor. dell' Arte*, 1898, p. 421.

*³ The vast landscape is described by VASARI as by Pier di Cosimo, iii., p. 189.

*⁴ Probably Cosimo went to Rome at the beginning of 1481; for Piero di Cosimo, who accompanied him, painted the altarpiece of S. Francesco at Fiesole in 1480. In 1482 Cosimo was again in Florence; for in that year he painted his Madonna with St. Peter and St. Thomas, for the church of S. Spirito.

*⁵ RICHA, *Chiese*, viii., p. 108. See also VASARI, iii., p. 184. The beato Philip kneels naked and of life size in the space. The types of the figures are vulgar; the flesh tones red with inky shadows, and the outlines are wiry.



A SCENE FROM THE LEGEND OF S. FILIPPO BENIZZI

By COSIMO ROSSELLI

From a fresco in the Church of the Annunziata, Florence

IV.—*To face page 368*

Sacrament at S. Ambrogio, where the exhibition of a chalice, in which the blood of the Redeemer was said to have been miraculously deposited,¹ is represented. A priest holds the cup to the adoration of churchmen and nuns, kneeling before him and at his sides, on the platform before the portal; and a crowd fills the space in front of the steps. The distribution of the scene is feeble and the figures are placed side by side without a bond of union. Some females in the middle distance, the nuns at the church door, are better, and tell of some feeling in the artist; the drawing is fairer, the colour laid on with more impasto; and a juster distribution of light and shade is attained; and it would seem as if Cosimo had endeavoured to improve his style by the study of Ghirlandaio's great masterpieces,² yet he still remains far below that great master. The four doctors in the ceiling, the angels playing or burning incense round the altar, designed by Mino of Fiesole, are, like the rest, much injured, so much so, indeed, as to be hardly visible. One of the most interesting facts established by the discovery of records having reference to these frescoes is that Cosimo's apprentice at this time was the boy Bartolommeo di Pagholo, better known as Fra Bartolommeo della Porta.³

Cosimo Rosselli is one of the painters summoned to attend the celebrated meeting of 1491 for considering the question of restoring the façade of Santa Maria del Fiore.⁴ He is known to have valued Baldovinetti's frescoes at S. Trinità in 1496.⁵

¹ *Vide* RICHIA, *Chiese*, ii., p. 248.

² This is especially true as regards the female heads and draperies, particularly in the group of females in the middle distance to the left. The fresco is in a very dark place and obscured by time. The lower part of the whole fresco is repainted, and the distance is black. On the side of the steps to the right one still reads: COSIMO ROSSELLI F. L'AN . . 4

³ Florence, August 7, 1486. Record of payment to Cosimo (for the fresco of the miracle in Sant' Ambrogio) of the sum of 155 florins, besides eight florins of gold for painting eight pictures in the nun's dormitory and a foot for the convent cross. There is also payment of one florin for a month's work to Cosimo from the nuns of the same convent in February, 1485, Bartolommeo di Pagholo receiving the money. Records favoured by Signor Gaetano Milanesi, now in the Archivio di Stato at Florence, under the title *Corporazioni religiose soppressæ*. [* See MILANESI in VASARI, iii., p. 186].

⁴ VASARI, iv., p. 308, and v., 11.

⁵ *Alcuni Documenti, Nozze Farinola-Vai, u.s.*, p. 18.

He died on the 7th of January, 1507, having in 1506 made a will, which proves him to have been in good circumstances, and contradicts Vasari's assertion that the pursuit of alchemy had ruined him.¹ Cosimo was the intimate friend of Benedetto da Maiano, and was the executor of his will (1497).²

Of the remaining works given to him the following is a list:—

ROME, *Palazzo Colonna*. Two long panels containing the Rape of the Sabines and the Peace between the Romans and Sabines, assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, but more akin to Cosimo's manner in character and design as well as in colour.³

LONDON, *Mr. Fuller Mailland's Collection* (No. 62 at Manchester), possibly the original once in S. Marco at Florence (VASARI, iii., p. 187). It represents Christ on the Cross with the chalice at his feet, surrounded by angels and seraphs; in front, the kneeling SS. John the Baptist, Dominic (kneeling), Jerome (kneeling), and Peter Martyr, life-size figures. This is one of Rosselli's best works, the figures being more reasonable and handled with more breadth than usual. The picture, however, has been restored.

LONDON, *Late Bromley Collection*.⁴ Virgin, Child, and saints, dated 1443, and therefore erroneously assigned to Cosimo, yet the style resembles that of later pieces by Rosselli. We have shown the similarity between this piece and a so-called Pesello at the Uffizi (No. 26 corridor).

LONDON, *National Gallery*. No. 227. Wood, centre, 5 ft. high by 5 ft. 8 in.; predella with incidents from four saints' lives, 6½ in. high by 7 ft. 4 in., from S. Girolamo of Fiesole. St. Jerome in the desert between SS. Damasus and Eusebius, Paola and Eustochia, injured somewhat by restoring.⁵

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 59. Wood, 6 ft. 0½ in. high by 5 ft. 8 in., from the Solly collection. The Virgin in Glory, with a vast number of kneeling adorers of both sexes, and a bust of a monk below. A good picture of the master.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 63. Wood, round, 1 ft. 11½ in. in diameter, from the Solly collection. The Virgin and Child Blessed by the Infant

¹ Tav. Alfabe. and GAYE, *Carteg.*, ii., note to p. 457.

² CESARE GUASTI in *Archivio Storico*, Nuova Serie, vol. xvi., part i., 8vo, 1862, p. 92.

³ We regard this picture as a work of Bartolomeo di Giovanni. See *antea*, p. 343.

⁴ See *antea*, p. 191. This picture is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

⁵ This is regarded by many modern critics as a work of Botticini.

Baptist. St. Francis on the right. A much-damaged example of Cosimo's manner.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 71. Wood, 1 ft. 8 in. high by 1 ft. 1½ in., from the Solly collection. Christ in the tomb with saints. Genuine.

BERLIN, *Museum*. No. 1,075. Wood, 5 ft. 7 in. high by 5 ft. 4¾ in., from the Solly collection. The Virgin, Child, and saints and the murdered innocents of Bethlehem. This a good specimen akin to the St. Barbara in the Florence Academy.

PARIS, *Louvre*.¹ No. 364. Virgin and Child (see *antea* the Raphaels, etc.)²

*¹ We may mention here a few other pictures by Cosimo Rosselli:—FLORENCE, *Uffizi* (No. 65), a Madonna in Glory, from S. Maria Nuova, one of the best works of the master. FLORENCE, *Corsini Gallery*, a *tondo* of the Madonna and Angels Adoring the Child. BERLIN, *Kaiser Friedrich Museum* (No. 59A), St. Anna and the Virgin and Child, with St. Michael, St. Catherine, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Francis. LONDON, *Mr. Charles Butler's Collection*, St. Catherine Surrounded by Members of her Order.

² The pictures of Rosselli, not known to exist, are: figures in S. Jacopo delle Murate (VASARI, iii., p. 184), an altarpiece and banner in the Compagnia di S. Bernardino (*ibid.*, iii., p. 185), a standard in the Compagnia di S. Giorgio (*ibid.*, *ibid.*) at Florence.

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